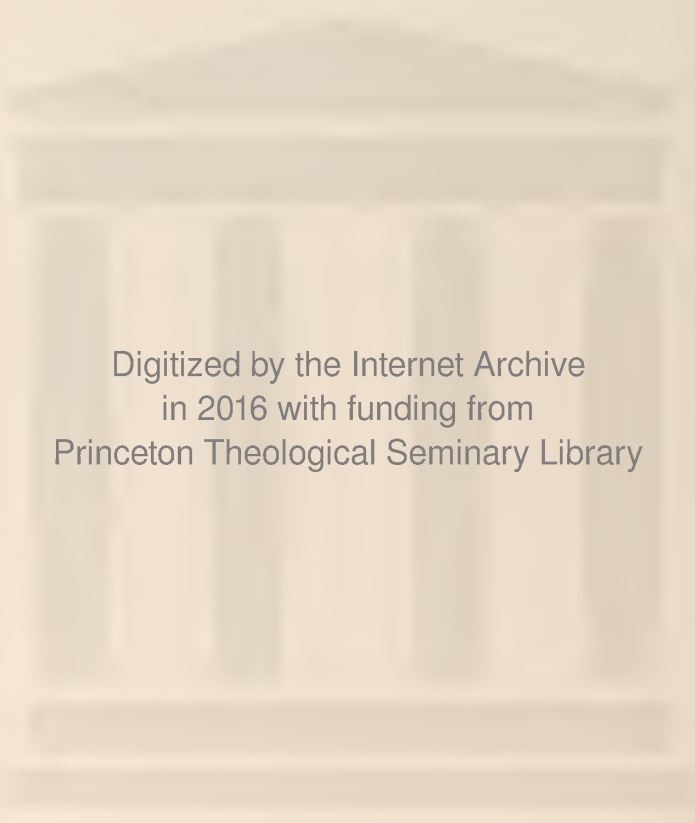


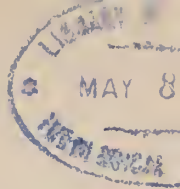


PER BR 1 .P625 v.16

The Princeton theological
review



Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2016 with funding from
Princeton Theological Seminary Library



The Princeton Theological Review

APRIL, 1918

THE TERMINOLOGY OF LOVE IN THE NEW TESTAMENT

II*

The story of the Septuagint usage of the terms for love is almost told by the simple statistics. The verb ἀγαπᾶν occurs in the Septuagint about two hundred and sixty-six times, φιλεῖν about thirty-six times, ἐρᾶσθαι only three times, and στέργειν just once. Even this does not give the whole state of the case, for in the majority of its occurrences φιλεῖν is used in the sense of "to kiss." It occurs only sixteen or seventeen times with the meaning of "love." That is to say, this word, the common word for love in the classics, is used in the Septuagint in only a little more than five per cent of the instances where love falls to be mentioned: in nearly ninety-five per cent ἀγαπᾶν is used. Here is a complete reversal of the relative positions of the two words.

In more than a third of the instances in which φιλεῖν is used of loving, moreover, it is used of things—food or drink, or the like (Gen. xxvii. 4, 9, 14, Prov. xxi. 17, Hos. iii. 1, Is. lvi. 10), leaving only a half a score of instances in which it is employed of love of persons. In all these instances (except Tob. vi. 14, where it is a demon that is in question) it is a human being to whom the loving is ascribed. The love ascribed to him ranges from mere carnal love (Jer. xxii. 22 [paralleled with ἐρασταί], Lam. i. 2, Tob. vi. 14, cf. Tob. vi. 17), through the love of a father for his son (Gen. xxxvii. 4), to love for Wisdom (Prov. viii. 17, xxix. 3, Wisd. viii. 2). Cremer drops the remark: "In two passages only does φιλεῖν stand as perfectly synonymous with ἀγαπάω,

* The first portion of this article was published in the number of this REVIEW for January 1918: pp. 1-45.

Prov. viii. 17, xxix. 3."¹ This cannot mean that ἀγαπᾶν does not occur in the senses in which φιλεῖν is used in the other passages: ἀγαπᾶν is used in all these senses. What is really meant is that in these two passages alone φιλεῖν bears a sense which Cremer is endeavoring to fix on ἀγαπᾶν as its distinctive meaning—the sense of high ethical love. In both passages it is love to Wisdom that is spoken of: "I (Wisdom) ἀγαπῶ them that φιλοῦντας me" (viii. 17); "When a man loves (φιλοῦντος) wisdom, his father rejoices" (xxix. 3); and they bear witness that this high love could readily be expressed by φιλεῖν, as well as by ἀγαπᾶν. It is not obvious, however, that φιλεῖν is used in these passages as perfectly synonymous with ἀγαπᾶν. On the face of Prov. viii. 17, there is a difference between the love (ἀγαπᾶν) ascribed to Wisdom and that (φιλεῖν) ascribed to her votaries, if the distribution of the words be allowed any significance. Perhaps it may be conjectured that some flavor clings to φιλεῖν which renders it less suitable for the graver affection proper to Wisdom herself.

Despite the fewness of the occurrences of φιλεῖν, there are quite a number of instances in which it is brought into more or less close conjunction with ἀγαπᾶν, and a glance over these may help us to some notion of the relation which the two words bear to one another. Gen. xxxvii. 3, 4: "And Jacob ἡγάπα Joseph more than all his sons. . . . And his brothers, seeing that his father φιλεῖ him above all his sons, hated him." Prov. viii. 17: "I (Wisdom) ἀγαπῶ them that φιλοῦντας me." Prov. xxi. 17: "A poor man ἀγαπᾷ mirth, φιλῶν wine and oil in abundance." Is. lvi. 6, 10: "The strangers that attach themselves unto the Lord . . . to ἀγαπᾶν the name of the Lord. . . . Dumb dogs, . . . φιλοῦντες to slumber." Lam. i. 2: "Weeping, she weeps in the night and her tears are upon her cheeks; and there is none of all that ἀγαπώντων her to comfort her; all those that φιλοῦντες her have dealt treacherously with her." Hos. iii.

¹ *Biblisches-Theologisches Wörterbuch der Neutestamentlichen Gräcität*,³ 1883, p. 11, near bottom: E. T. p. 592, bottom. The remark seems to have been omitted from 10th ed., 1915.

1: "And the Lord said to me, Go yet and ἀγάπησον a woman that ἀγαπῶσαν evil things and an adulteress, even as the Lord ἀγαπᾷ the children of Israel, and they have respect to strange gods, and φιλοῦσι cakes and raisins." Wisdom viii. 2, 3: "Her (Wisdom) I ἐφιλῆσα, and sought out from my youth, and I desired to make her my wife and was an ἐραστής of her beauty. . . . Yea, the Lord of all things Himself ἠγάπησεν her" (and then immediately below, at verse 8: "If a man ἀγαπᾷ righteousness"). Perhaps we should add Prov. xix. 7, 8, in which the noun φιλία and the verb ἀγαπᾶν occur, in distinct clauses no doubt, which yet stand rather close together: "Every one who hates a poor brother is also far from φιλία. . . . He that procures wisdom ἀγαπᾷ himself."

To fill out the general picture we may adjoin a few passages in which other combinations of terms for love are made. In his praise of woman in I Esd. iv, 14 ff, Zorobabel brings together these two statements—that a man can look a lion in the face, and can plunder and rob in the darkness—all to bring his spoil to τῇ ἐρωμένῃ; "yea a man ἀγαπᾷ his own wife more than father or mother." In Jer. xxii. 22, we read: "The wind shall tend all thy shepherds and thy ἐρασταί shall go into captivity; for then shalt thou be ashamed and disgraced by all τῶν φιλούντων σε." In Prov. vii. 18: "Come, and let us enjoy φιλίας until the morning; come, and let us embrace ἔρωτι." And again, in Sir. xxvii. 17, 18: "Στέρξον a friend (φίλον) and be faithful unto him; but if thou betrayest his secrets . . . thou hast lost the φιλίαν of thy neighbor."

It cannot be pretended that it is an easy task to find one's way through these passages, assigning a distinctive sense to each term. By one thing we are struck, however, at the first glance. In all the combinations of ἀγαπᾶν and φιλεῖν, the higher rôle is assigned to ἀγαπᾶν. The historian tells us in Gen. xxxvii. 3 that Jacob ἠγάπα Joseph; but when he repeats what the envious brothers said, φιλεῖν is used, as if they would suggest that their father's special love for him was an ungrounded preference. It is Wisdom who ἀγαπᾷ

her votaries (Prov. viii. 17); they, on their part, φιλοῦνται her; and the Lord ἠγάπησεν Wisdom, while her servant ἐφίλησε her (Wisd. viii. 2, 3). There is some appearance here that ἀγαπᾶν was felt to be in some way the more appropriate word with which to express love of a superhuman order. Only in the case of Lam. i. 2 does the variation from ἀγαπᾶν to φιλεῖν seem to be purely rhetorical; and there the variation imitates a variation in the underlying Hebrew, and gives ἀγαπᾶν the place of honor.² Similarly, in the passages in which ἀγαπᾶν does not occur there appears to be in mind always some valid distinction between the terms that are used, although it is not always easy clearly to grasp it. It must be confessed, for example, that it is difficult to discover the precise reason for the variation from ἐρασταί to φιλοῦντες in Jer. xxii. 22, or from φιλία to ἔρως in Prov. vii. 18. In the former of these passages it is obvious enough, of course, that the φιλοῦντες are intended to embrace both the shepherds and the lovers, and doubtless that is the reason that a broader word is chosen. In the latter the variation in terms reflects a variation in the underlying Hebrew, but it is not clear that it reflects it accurately, or what is the exact distinction intended. The general impression left by the series of passages is that the several terms for love were used quite freely and with various natural interchanges, as substantial synonyms; but that ἀγαπᾶν was felt to be in some sense of the highest suggestion, and when they were brought into contrast, the higher place was instinctively given to it.

Certainly ἀγαπᾶν is used with the utmost freedom for every conceivable variety of love, from the love of mere lust on the one hand (*e.g.*, 2 Sam. xiii. 1, 4, 15, Is. lvii. 8, Ezek. xvi. 37) up to the purest earthly love on the other (Lev. xix. 18, 34, Deut. x. 19, 1 Sam. xviii. 1, xx. 17, 2 Sam. 1, 23), and beyond that to the highest love which man can feel, love to God (Ex. xx. 6, Deut. v. 10, vi. 5, 11, vii. 9,

² According to Gesenius, רֵץ means "a friend, loving and beloved, intimate, different from רֵעַ, a companion": רֵעַ, he says, implies less than רֵץ. In the text, ἀγαπᾶν represents רֵץ and φιλεῖν רֵעַ.

x. 12, xi. 1, 13, 22, xiii. 3, xix. 9, xxx. 6, 16, 30, Judges viii. 3, Jos. xxii. 5, xxiii. 1, 1 Kings iii. 3, Ps. xvii. 1, xxx. 23, lxviii. 37, xlvi. 10, cxvi. 7), and even above that, to the inexplicable love of God Himself to His people (Deut. iv. 37, vii. 8, 13, x. 15, xxiii. 5, 2 Sam. xii. 24, 2 Chron. ii. 11, ix. 8, Is. xliii. 4, xlvi. 14, lxiii. 9, Jer. xxxviii. 3, Mal. i. 2, Prov. iii. 12). It is quite true that it is used for the higher reaches of love far more frequently than for the lower-lying varieties. This was the inevitable effect of the proportionate place occupied by the higher and lower forms of love in the pages of the Old Testament, and argues little as to the relative adaptability of the term for expressing them severally. The plain fact is that ἀγαπᾶν is the general term for love in the Greek Old Testament, employed in some ninety-five per cent of the instances in which love is mentioned; and therefore it is employed of the several varieties of love, not in accordance with its fitness to express one or another of them, but in accordance with the relative frequency of their occurrence in the Old Testament. The five per cent or so of occurrences which are left to be expressed by other terms seem not to be divided off from the rest on the ground of the intrinsic unfitness of ἀγαπᾶν to express them. They include next to no kinds of love which ἀγαπᾶν is not employed to express in other passages.³ It is not to be supposed, of course, that pure caprice has determined the employment of these terms in these few instances. There is doubtless always a reason for the selection which is made; and ordinarily the appropriateness of the term actually employed can be more or less clearly felt. But it does not appear that the reason for passing over ἀγαπᾶν in these cases was ordinarily its intrinsic incapacity for the expression of the specific love that is spoken of. As the general word for love it no doubt could have been used without impropriety throughout.

It is possible, moreover, to overpress the intrinsic significance of the predominant use of ἀγαπᾶν for the higher

³ But see below page 162.

varieties of love. Both *φιλεῖν* (Prov. viii. 17, xxix. 3) and *ἐρᾶσθαι* (Prov. iv. 6, Wisd. viii. 2), along with it (Prov. viii. 21), are used for love to Wisdom. But no other term except *ἀγαπᾶν* happens to be employed of God's love to man, or of man's love to God, or even of that love to our neighbor which with them constitutes the three conceptions in which is summed up the peculiarity of the teaching on love of the religion of revelation. This is a notable fact; and it had notable consequences. It did not, however, so much result from as result in that elevation of *ἀγαπᾶν* above other terms for love, which fits it alone to express these high forms. It is probable that had the Septuagint translators found *φιλεῖν* still in use as the general term for love, they would have employed it as their own general word, and it would have fallen to it therefore to be used to express these higher forms of love. Instead, they found *ἀγαπᾶν*, an intrinsically higher word than *φιλεῖν* and more suitable for the purpose; and they trained it to convey these still higher conceptions also. Thus they stamped *ἀγαπᾶν* with a new quality, and prepared it for its use in the New Testament. What is of importance to bear in mind, however, is that the elevation of *ἀγαπᾶν* to this new dignity was not due to its greater intrinsic fitness to express these new conceptions (though it was intrinsically more fit to do so), but to the circumstance that it happened to be the general term for love in current use when the Septuagint was written. This is proved by the fact that it was not employed by the Septuagint writers as a special word for the expression of the loftier aspects of love alone, but as a general word to express all kinds and conditions of love. It is simply the common term for love in the Greek Old Testament, and the new dignity which clothes it as it leaves the Old Testament has been contributed to it by the Old Testament itself.

The account given of *ἀγαπᾶν* by Hermann Cremer, while in its central statement perfectly just, is deformed by some remarkable inaccuracies, arising from a fruitless attempt to

establish certain stated exceptions to this central statement. "The New Testament usage with reference to the words ἀγαπᾶν, ἀγάπη, ἀγαπητός," he writes,⁴ "is in a very special manner a consistent and complete one. It was prepared for by the use, presented by the Septuagint, of ἀγαπάω for the Hebrew אָהַב in the whole range of its applications, with one or two characteristic exceptions. The Hebrew word includes in itself the significance of all three Greek synonyms" [*i.e.*, φιλεῖν, ἐρᾶν, and ἀγαπᾶν]; "it is especially frequently used in an application in which the Greeks do not speak of love, that is to say, of the love enjoined for God and His will, as well as of the love ascribed to God Himself (Deut. vii. 13, x. 15, 18, xxiii. 6, 2 Sam. xii. 24, Ps. lxxviii. 68, lxxxvii. 2, cxlvi. 8, Is. xliii. 4, xlviii. 14, lxiii. 9), particularly the last, which is a conception beyond the imagination of the Greeks.⁵ Apart, now, from a few passages in which the rendering is only according to the sense (Mic. iii. 2 = ζητεῖν, Prov. xviii. 21 = κρατεῖν, xvii. 19 = χαίρειν), אָהַב is regularly translated by ἀγαπᾶν, *with the exception of* when it stands for sensual love (sixteen times in all), in which case ἐρᾶν, ἐραστής are constantly used (see above), and when it denotes a sensuous inclination or a natural affection (ten times), and then it is rendered by φιλεῖν and its compounds—Gen. xxvii. 14, Is. lvi. 10, Ecc. iii. 8; *cf.* 2 Chron. xxvi. 1, φιλογεωργός, A, אָהַב אֶת הָאָדָמָה אֲשֶׁר הָיָה לְעֹמֶר, as also two passages where there is mention of an objectionable disposition, 1 Kings xi. 1 φιλογύναιος (φιλογύνης, B), and Prov. xiii. 19, φιλομαρτήμων." W. G. Ballantyne, commenting on the latter half of this passage, remarks trenchantly, but we are afraid not unjustly:⁶ "Cremer's assertions regarding the translation of אָהַב in the Septuagint are sheer misstatements, as anyone who has Trommius' Concordance in his hands can see. We have already re-

⁴ As cited. We are quoting from 10th ed., 1915, but the passage has remained substantially unaltered since the 3d ed., 1883.

⁵ On these assertions see THE PRINCETON THEOLOGICAL REVIEW, January 1918, pp. 20 ff.

⁶ *Bibliotheca Sacra*, July, 1889, p. 534.

ferred to half a score of passages where ἀγαπάω, as the translation of אָהַב, expresses lustful love. Φιλέω, as we saw above, but once expresses a natural affection, and but four times a sensuous inclination. Ἀγαπάω expresses a natural affection in Gen. xxii. 2, xxv. 28, xxxvii. 3, xlx. 20, Ruth iv. 15, Prov. iv. 3, xiii. 24. Ἐράω translates אָהַב but twice. Cremer says that ἀγαπάω 'never means *to do anything willingly, to be wont to do*'; yet we have it in Jer. xiv. 10, 'They have loved to move their feet,' and in Jer. v. 31, 'And my people loved to have it so.' "

Cremer's statement certainly conveys the impression that ἀγαπᾶν is never used in the canonical Septuagint (as a rendering of אָהַב) for sensual love, or for a sensuous inclination or natural affection, its place being taken in the former case (there being sixteen instances in all) by ἐρᾶν, ἐραστής, and in the latter (ten instances) by φιλεῖν and its compounds. For the sixteen cases of ἐρᾶν rendering אָהַב, used of sensual love, he refers us to a list previously given—"see above," he says—and that list proves to run as follows: "Ἐρᾶν is found only in a few passages in the Old Testament (Esth. ii. 17, Prov. iv. 6, = אָהַב; Wisd. viii. 2; ἐραστής, Ez. xvi. 33, 36, 37, xxiii. 5, 9, 22, Jer. xxii. 20, 22, Lam. i. 19, Hos. ii. 7, 9, 12, 14, 15, the stated rendering of the Hebrew אָהַב in the sensual sense)." There are seventeen passages enumerated here; but they are not seventeen passages in which אָהַב and אָהַב are used in a sensual sense and are rendered by ἐρᾶν and ἐραστής; they profess to be passages rather in which ἐρᾶν and ἐραστής are found in the Old Testament—Wisd. viii. 2, of course, having no Hebrew base. They do not, to be sure, exhaust the list of occurrences of words of this group in the Old Testament: ἐρᾶσθαι occurs three times, not two as here (add 1 Esdr. iv. 24); ἔρω, not mentioned here, occurs twice (Prov. vii. 18, xxiv. 51 [xxx. 16]); and ἐραστής appears nineteen times, as against the fifteen here enumerated. But much less do the sixteen of them which are renderings of אָהַב justify the description of them given in the main passage. One of the

two passages cited for ἐρᾶν, indeed—"Love (Wisdom), and she shall keep thee" (Prov. iv. 6)—refers to high ethical love; as does also indeed Wisd. viii. 2 (ἐραστής), "I was a lover of her (Wisdom's) beauty." The other passage cited for ἐρᾶν, "And the king loved Esther and she found favor beyond all the virgins; and he put on her the queen's crown" (Esth. ii. 27), while certainly referring to sexual love, can scarcely be spoken of as referring to dishonorable love, as neither, indeed, can 1 Esd. iv. 24, the third passage in which ἐρᾶν occurs (not mentioned by Cremer): "And when he hath stolen, spoiled, and robbed, he bringeth it to his beloved (ἐρωμένη); wherefore a man loveth (ἀγαπᾷ) his wife better than father and mother."

As it is thus clear that the words of the ἐρᾶν group do not always express lustful, and not even always sexual, love, it is even more clear that sensual or even lustful love is not expressed exclusively by words of this group. We have seen the carnal love of a demon for a mortal maid expressed by φιλεῖν (Tob. vi. 14), and the wicked lovers of Zion, in parallelism with ἔρασταί, expressed by φιλοῦντες (Jer. xxii. 22). The Hebrew piel participle נִשְׁכַּח, rendered in the fifteen passages enumerated by Cremer by ἔρασταί, occurs also in Jer. xxx. 14, Zech. xiii. 6, the former of which is certainly of the same class with its fellows, and the latter not certainly of a different class (so Hengstenberg). In Jer. xxx. 14, however, it is rendered by οἱ φιλοί, "All thy lovers have forgotten thee," and in Zech. xiii. 6, taken as a singular, by ὁ ἀγαπητός, "With these I was wounded in my beloved house," or, as in the Alexandrian MS., "in the house of my beloved." It has already been intimated that numerous passages exist in which sensual love is expressed by ἀγαπᾶν. If we are to take sensual love in a sense broad enough to include Cremer's examples, we may adduce such passages as Gen. xxiv. 6, 7, xxix. 30, 32, xxxiv. 3, Ex. xxi. 5, Deut. xxi. 15, 16, Judges xiv. 16, xvi. 15, 1 Sam. i. 5, xviii. 28, 2 Chron. xi. 21, Ecc. ix. 9, and perhaps even 1 Kings xi. 2. If dishonorable love is to be insisted upon,

we may refer to 2 Sam. xiii. 1, 4, 15, Ezek. xvi. 37, Hos. iii. 1, or we may content ourselves with the single passage Is. lvii. 8: "Thou hast loved (ἡγάπησας) those that lay with thee, and now hast multiplied thy whoredom (πορνείαν) with them." It is beyond question that not ἐρᾶν but ἀγαπᾶν is the regular word to express sexual love in the Septuagint, and this fact is not to be obscured by pointing to ἐραστής as the standing word for "lover"—which is a different matter.

No assertion could be more unfortunate, then, than that ἐρᾶν is the constant vehicle in the Septuagint for the expression of sensual love; and it is no mitigation to confine the assertion to the instances of renderings of אהב by ἐρᾶν. Unless, indeed, it be held even more unfortunate to assert that φιλεῖν and its compounds supply the stated means of the expression of the love of sensuous inclination or natural affection—connected with the further implication that there are only ten instances in which love of this kind comes to expression in the Old Testament. A full list of the ten instances he has in mind is not given by Cremer, and it would be difficult to fill out such a list with instances exactly like the half-dozen which he adduces. These half-dozen instances do represent one side of the usage of φιλεῖν and its compounds—a usage in which it perhaps holds a unique position in Old Testament Greek. We are not sure that ἀγαπᾶν is found in any precisely similar applications. There is even an appearance that such applications are avoided for ἀγαπᾶν. Look, for example, at Prov. xxi. 17: "A poor man loveth (ἀγαπᾶν) mirth, loving (φιλῶν) wine and oil in abundance." There seems to be reflected here a distinction in the usage of the two terms, according to which φιλεῖν and not ἀγαπᾶν is preferred for loving food and drink, just as in English we say we "like" but only abusively that we "love" articles of diet. But this is only a pocket in the usage of φιλεῖν, and does not justify the broad characterization formulated by Cremer. The love expressed by φιλεῖν includes also the elevated love of Wisdom by her votaries (Prov. viii. 17, xxix. 3); and if Ecc. iii. 8, "There

is a time to love (φιλεῖν) and a time to hate" shows that natural affections are expressed by φιλεῖν, what does Sir. xiii. 15, "Every beast loves (ἀγαπᾷ) his like, and every man his neighbor"⁷ show? The fundamental fault of Cremer's statement lies in a zeal to mark off a special region within which each term—ἐρᾶν, φιλεῖν, and above all, ἀγαπᾶν—shall be confined. Accordingly, he arbitrarily narrows the range of the usage of each, and very especially of ἀγαπᾶν. In point of fact, the usage of ἀγαπᾶν covers the whole field which ἐρᾶν itself covers, and there is no real variety of love for which it is not employed somewhere or other in the Septuagint. Even such a conspectus of the kinds of love for which it is used as that drawn up by Ballantyne in the following summary is only generally complete, although it will doubtless serve to bring home to us the very wide field covered by the word. "It is the word," he says,⁸ "in constant use to express (1) God's love to man, (2) God's love for truth and other virtues and worthy objects, (3) man's love for God, (4) man's love for salvation and worthy objects, (5) man's conscientious love for man, (6) ordinary human friendship, (7) parental and filial affection, (8) the love of husband and wife, (9) impure sexual love, (10) man's love for cursing and other vices and sinful objects."

One of the most striking accompaniments of the appearance of ἀγαπᾶν in the Septuagint as the general term for love, is the appearance by its side of two abstract substantives formed from this stem—ἀγάπησις and ἀγάπη. The classical writers got along without these substantives. Ἀγάπησις has, it is true, been turned up in Aristotle. But it does not come into wide use in profane literature until Plutarch—after the opening of the Christian era. Ἀγάπη has not hitherto been discovered in any profane author at all,

⁷ Lütgert, *Die Liebe im Neuen Testament*, 1905, p. 35, remarks: "Here the commandment of love comes forward as a law of nature, and that because it ought to be presented as a rational thing." He is presenting it as an instance of the rationalization of Jewish thought under the influence of Hellenism.

⁸ As cited, p. 517.

unless a somewhat conjectural reading in Philodemus, an Epicurean writer of the first century before Christ, be an exception.⁹ In a true sense, then, both of these words make their first appearance in the Septuagint. *Ἀγαπᾶν* itself was in comparatively limited use among the classical writers; and, with *στοργή*, *ἔρως* and *φιλία* in their hand, they apparently felt no need of a substantive representing the peculiar quality of *ἀγαπᾶν*, in order to give expression to all their conceptions of love. When, however, *ἀγαπᾶν* became the general word for love, a need for corresponding substantives seems to have come to be felt, and they were supplied. Of course the Septuagint did not invent these substantives: not even *ἀγάπη*, which is not found in any earlier writing. It took them over with *ἀγαπᾶν* from the common usage of the people. This appears very clearly from the nature of their use in the Septuagint. They are used as general terms for love, covering the whole range of the conception, and with the utmost simplicity and directness. A very careless manner of speaking of *ἀγάπη* is current, as if it were in some way a gift of revealed religion to the world, not to say a direct product of divine inspiration. When Trench says that "It should never be forgotten that the substantive *ἀγάπη* is a purely Christian word, no example of its use occurring in any heathen writer whatever," he has no doubt by a mere slip of the pen said "Christian" when the historical revelation of God in its entirety was what was in his mind. That correction, however, will not save his remark from being misleading. It is not true that "the word was born within the bosom of revealed religion"; it is true only that it has hitherto been found in the use only of adherents of revealed religion. What Zeschwitz means by saying that

⁹ The treatise is known from Herculanum papyri alone, and the reading in question is restored thus: δι' ἀ[γ]άπης ἐ[ναρ]γοῦς. It is recorded in Crönert's revision of Passow's *Lexicon*, *sub voc.*, who accompanies it with a note, "sicher(?)"; and it is reported from his record by Moulton and Milligan, *sub voc.* A. Deissmann, *Bible Studies*, 1901, p. 200, points out a scholium to Thucydides II. 51, which reads "φιλανθρωπίας καὶ ἀγάπης." But there is no telling how late this scholium may be, or whether the glossator was a Christian or not.

it "first makes its appearance as a current term in the Song of Solomon" is not clear, unless it be that it occurs more frequently in the Song of Solomon than in any other Old Testament book (eleven times as over against eight in the whole Old Testament besides). The plain fact about the word is that, as it appears in the pages of the Septuagint, it bears all the marks of being already an old word with a settled general usage.

Additional evidence of its general currency is supplied by its appearance in Aristeas (second or first century B.C.) and Philo (early first century A.D.). Each uses it a single time, and both in a noble sense—as the content of true piety. Aristeas, positing the question, What is equal to beauty? answers¹⁰: "Piety (εὐσέβεια); for that is an excellent beauty. But its power consists in ἀγάπη; for this is a gift of God. And," he adds, to the king whose inquiry he is answering, "you possess this, embracing in it all that is good."¹¹ Philo writes more elaborately to much the same effect. "And therefore it is," says he,¹² "that it appears to me that with these two principal assertions above mentioned, namely that God is as a man and that God is not as a man, are connected two other principles consequent upon and connected with them, namely that of fear and that of love (φόβον τε καὶ ἀγάπην); for I see that all the exhortations of the laws to piety (εὐσέβεια) are referred either

¹⁰ § 229; ed. Wendland, p. 63. Aristeas uses ἀγαπᾶν (§ 123), ἀγάπησις (§§ 44, 265, 270) and ἀγάπη (§ 229); apparently not ἐρᾶν, ἔρω, or στέργειν, στοργή, at all; nor even φιλεῖν, but φιλία, §§ 40, 44, 225, 228, 231, φίλος a half-dozen times and compounds of φιλ- including φιλανθρωπεῖν φιλανθρωπία, φιλανθρωπότερον.

¹¹ Ἀγάπησις is used in a less exalted sense. In § 44 (p. 15), Eleazar writes to Ptolemy that he would endeavor to do all that the king had asked, "for this is a mark of φιλίας and ἀγαπήσεως." Here ἀγάπησις is used of national amity (Done: "confederation and amity"). In § 270 (p. 73) it is said that a king ought to trust men whose loyalty (εὐνοία) towards him is indisputable, "for this is a mark of ἀγαπήσεως rather than of ill-will and timeserving." For § 265 see note 22. The verb ἀγαπᾶν is used very distinctly in its native sense of valuing in § 123.

¹² *Quod Deus sit Immutabilis*, § 14, near the end; ed. Mangey, p. 283; ed. Cohn, Vol. II, p. 72: Yonge's translation is used.

to the loving (τὸ ἀγαπᾶν) or the fearing of the living God. To those, therefore, who do not attribute either the parts or the passions of man to the living God, but who, as becomes the majesty of God, honor (τιμῶσι) Him in Himself, and by Himself alone, to love (τὸ ἀγαπᾶν) Him is most natural; but to the others to fear Him is the most appropriate." It would, of course, be possible to say that both Aristéas and Philo got the word from the Septuagint; but it would be very difficult to prove that, and it seems vastly unlikely. Their use of it is highly individual,¹³ and their independence in employing it is supported by its appearance in other Greek versions of the Old Testament in passages in which it is not found in the Septuagint.

There is a superficial appearance that ἀγάπη and ἀγάπησις are used by the Septuagint far less freely than ἀγαπᾶν. The verb certainly occurs much more frequently than the substantives—it, about two hundred and sixty-six times; they, together, only thirty times—ἀγάπη twenty times and ἀγάπησις ten. The relatively small number of the occurrences of the substantives is accounted for in part, however, by the comparative infrequency of the noun אֲהָבָה in the Hebrew Old Testament, which the Septuagint translates. That substantive occurs only forty times, in sixteen of which it is rendered by ἀγάπη (which include all the occurrences of ἀγάπη in which it has a Hebrew base), six by ἀγάπησις (all its occurrences with a Hebrew base), and thirteen by some form of the verb ἀγαπᾶν,¹⁴ while it is rendered in only five instances by φιλία (a little more than half of its occurrences with a Hebrew base). That is to say, it is rendered in nearly ninety per cent of its occurrences by some form of the ἀγαπᾶν group, and in nearly half of these by ἀγάπη itself. The question remains an open one naturally why the trans-

¹³ On Philo's independence of the Septuagint in his use of the word, see Deissmann, as cited, p. 199; and Moulton and Milligan, as cited, *sub voc.*

¹⁴ In Gen. xxix. 20, 1 Sam. xviii. 3, the clause containing אֲהָבָה is omitted in the Septuagint as printed whether by Tischendorf or by Swete; but it is supplied in some MSS.

lators resorted so frequently to a paraphrase of the verb to render the Hebrew substantive, and did not in all instances employ the substantive *ἀγάπη*; they paraphrase by the verb (thirteen times) almost as often as they render by *ἀγάπη* (sixteen times). The distribution of the several manners of rendering אָהַבָה through the Septuagint is also rather odd. The paraphrase by the verb is fairly evenly distributed through the volume from the Pentateuch to the Prophets and Psalms (none in the Wisdom books). No substantive for love occurs in the Greek Bible, on the other hand, until 2 Samuel; practically none until the Poetical and Prophetic books.¹⁵ The use of these substantives belongs thus almost entirely to the latter portion of the Septuagint. And even there their distribution is somewhat notable. The use of *ἀγάπη* centers in the Song of Solomon: it occurs in it no less than eleven times, more than half of all its occurrences in the Septuagint; it and its verb (*ἀγαπᾶν*) are the sole vehicles in this book of the notion of love. Outside the Song of Solomon, it occurs only eight times, widely scattered through the volume. *Ἀγάπησις* is found in five of its ten occurrences in the Prophets, and in four of the others in the Poetical books. *Φιλία* occurs only in two well-marked groups: in the great Wisdom books, Proverbs, Wisdom, and Sirach, and in 1 and 2 Maccabees. It is well to note this last fact, because it contributes to the understanding of what seems, at first sight, a preponderance in the use of *φιλία* over *ἀγάπη* and *ἀγάπησις*. *Φιλία* occurs thirty-five times, and *ἀγάπη* and *ἀγάπησις* together but thirty times. More than half of the occurrences of *φιλία*, however, fall in 1 and 2 Maccabees, where it is employed exclusively in the highly differentiated sense—one might even say the technical sense—of political amity.¹⁶ Only sixteen instances remain (all in the Wisdom literature) for the expression of love in the

¹⁵ The exceptions to the last statement are *ἀγάπη*, 2 Sam. i. 26, iii. 15, and *ἀγάπησις*, 2 Sam. i. 26.

¹⁶ 1 Macc. viii. 1, 12, 17; x. 54; xii. 1, 3, 8, 16; xiv. 18, 22; xv. 17; 2 Macc. iv. 11; viii. 6, coupled with *συμμαχία*; xii. 10, with *ἀδελφότητα*; x. 20, 23, 26 paralleled with *συνθήκη*.

ordinary applications of the word. After all, therefore, the chief vehicle for the idea of love in the Septuagint, even in its substantival expression, is furnished by the terms of the ἀγαπᾶν group. Ἀγάπη, ἀγάπησις together occur thirty times, φιλία sixteen, ἔρως twice (Prov. vii. 18, xxiv. 51 [xxx. 16]), and στοργή not at all in the Septuagint proper, but four times in 3 and 4 Maccabees (3 Macc. v. 32, 4 Macc. xiv. 13, 14, 17).

In range of meaning, ἀγάπη is spread thinly over the whole field; necessarily thinly, because of the infrequency of its occurrence. Its preponderant sense is sexual love. That is secured for it by its eleven occurrences in the Song of Solomon. But outside the Song of Solomon it is used in 2 Sam. xiii. 15 of the merely lustful love of Amnon for Tamar, as well as in the figurative passage Jer. ii. 2. In 2 Sam. i. 26, it is used of "the love of women" to which Jonathan's love (here spoken of as ἀγάπησις) is compared: "Thy ἀγάπησις to me was wonderful, beyond the ἀγάπη of women"—as if ἀγάπη had some special fitness for the expression of the "love of women." At the opposite extreme are the four passages in the Wisdom books which carry us up to the highest reaches to which human love can ascend. The transition is made by two passages in Ecclesiastes (ix. 1, 6) in which it is used quite generally of love, as a universal human emotion, in contrast with hate: "My heart hath seen how the righteous and the wise and their works are in the hands of God, and there is no man that knoweth whether (it is) love or hate:" "But the dead know nothing . . . and their love and their hate and their envy have perished." In Wisdom vi. 18 we have a passage built up in a kind of sorites, which reminds us of the passage in Aristeeas: "For the most unerring beginning of wisdom is desire of discipline, and heed to discipline is love, and love is the keeping of her laws, and attention to the laws is the assurance of incorruption, and incorruption bringeth near to God." Here the love of wisdom is the secret of law-keeping and a step on the stairs that lead up to God. The climax is

reached, however, in Wisd. iii. 9 and Sir. lviii. 11, where love to God is spoken of, and its exceeding great reward. In the former passage we read: "They that put their trust in Him shall understand the truth, and they that are faithful in love"—that is, in love to Him—"shall abide with Him, because there is grace and mercy for His elect." In the latter, the "famous men, even our fathers that begat us," are praised in these great words: "Blessed are they that saw Thee, and they that have fallen asleep in love; for we too shall surely live."¹⁷ The employment of the word in the other Greek versions of the Old Testament is remarkable chiefly for a tendency to invade with it the book of Proverbs, which in the Septuagint is the especial field of *φιλία*. Aquila and Theodotion both use it in vii. 18 of sexual love; Aquila and Symmachus in x. 12, where it stands in contrast with hate; and all three, Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion in xv. 17, where it is praised as the condition of all happiness in life. Besides, it is used by Symmachus, in addition to some passages in the Song of Solomon (Aquila also uses it in one of these), in Psalm xxxii. 5, and Ezekiel xvii. 8. Commenting on this usage, Moulton and Milligan remark that it shows that the word "retained in independent writers the connotations we find in Canticles and Ecclesiastes."¹⁸ The evidence as a whole goes to show that it was in full popular use during the later pre-Christian centuries as a general word for love of all kinds and degrees; and that it was taken over by the Septuagint writers in this general sense, and employed by them indiscriminately to express the idea of love as it fell to their task to speak of it. The effect was, as in the case of *ἀγαπᾶν*, to add depth to the word, because it was employed to express, among other kinds of love, also that love to God which is characteristic of the Biblical revelation.

It remains somewhat of a puzzle why the Septuagint

¹⁷ In this passage *ἀγάπησις* is printed by both Tischendorf and Swete; *ἀγάπη* is read by *κ*.

¹⁸ As cited, *sub voc.* *ἀγάπη*, near end.

writers, in no less than thirteen instances of the occurrence of אהבה, preferred to translate it by forms of ἀγαπᾶν; and the occurrence of ἀγάπησις by the side of ἀγάπη in their pages is susceptible of the interpretation that ἀγάπη did not hold the whole field in the popular Greek of the time, but shared it with the sister word. The instances in which אהבה is paraphrased by forms of the verb the more call for remark, because they move in the high places. There is no instance of sexual love among them except [Gen. xxix. 20] where this form of love is at its height; and but three [four] in which love from man to man is spoken of (Ps. cviii. 4, 1 Sam. xx. 17 *bis*, [xxviii. 3]), and in two [three] of these it is the supreme type of human love which is celebrated, the love of David and Jonathan: "And Jonathan swore yet again unto David because he loved (ἡγάπησε) the life of him that loved (ἀγαπῶντος) him." After that, we have an instance in which the love of mercy is expressed by it (Micah vi. 8), and all the others speak of the supernal love of God to man (Deut. vii. 8, 1 Kings x. 9, 2 Chron. ii. 10, ix. 8, Is. lxiii. 9, Hos. iii. 1, ix. 15). Why should the Septuagint writers refuse just these passages to ἀγάπη and paraphrase them? One of the results is that they render אהבה, in no instance in which it expresses God's love, by ἀγάπη; the instances in which ἀγάπη is used to express God's love (Wisd. iii. 9, Sir. xlviii. 11) come from that portion of the Septuagint which has no Hebrew base, as does also the instance in which ἀγάπη is used of love to Wisdom. The general concept of love as distinguished from hate (Ecc. ix. 1, 6) is the highest to which ἀγάπη attains when rendering אהבה. The impression made by these facts is increased when we observe that the usage of ἀγάπησις in general also moves on a higher plane than that of ἀγάπη. In only one instance does it allude to sexual love (Jer. ii. 33). In three others it is the love of man to man that is in question—2 Sam. i. 26, Ps. cviii. 5, and we add Prov. xxx. 15, (xxiv. 50), where the noun is used adverbially to strengthen the verb: "the horse-leech had three

daughters ἀγαπόμεναι ἀγαπήσει, loved with love," *i.e.*, dearly loved. In one instance (Sir. xl. 20) it expresses man's love to Wisdom, and in two (Hab. iii. 4, Sir. xlviii. 11) man's love to God. In three instances (Jer. xxxviii. 3, Hos. xi. 4, Zeph. iii. 23) it expresses the love of God to man. Certainly an appearance is created that ἀγάπη lent itself with less readiness to the expression of the higher than of the lower forms of love. Perhaps just because it was the most popular word for love in circulation, though it was a perfectly general term and was used for all forms of love alike, its chief associations were with those forms of love which fell to be most frequently mentioned in everyday speech. It was accordingly predominantly used for those forms of love in the Septuagint, and owes the exaltation of meaning with which it comes out of its hands less to its own usage in the Septuagint than to its association with ἀγαπᾶν. There is a sense, then, in which we may speak—as Moulton and Milligan do—of "its redemption from use as a mere successor to the archaic ἔρως," although we should not ourselves make use of just this language. It was the successor of the classical φιλία, not of ἔρως; ἔρως was scarcely "archaic," as its continued use in much later Greek shows; and we think it a mistake to speak of ἔρως as if it were exclusively a designation of sexual love. Nor can we ascribe quite the rôle which Moulton and Milligan do to "Alexandrian Jews of the first century B.C." in the "redemption" of the word. We see this redemption taking place in Aristeas and Philo, it is true; but we do not see it in the Jewish translators of the Old Testament (Aquila, Symmachus, Theodotion). After it leaves the Septuagint we get no full evidence of the usage of the word until we reach the New Testament. We are chary of concluding from the single instance of its use, each, in Aristeas and Philo, that it was they and such as they who wrought the work. All that we can be sure of is that the redemption of the word was the work of those who had learned what love is from the Divine revelation. If the word was not "born

in the bosom of revealed religion," it was apparently re-deemed to its nobler uses under the influences of that religion.¹⁹

Of the other substantives used for love in the Septuagint, *φιλία* is, of course, the most important. We have already pointed out the odd division of its usage into two well-marked groups. We are concerned now only with the sixteen instances in which it occurs in the great Wisdom books—nine in Proverbs, two in Wisdom, and five in Sirach. Its usage here is a broad one; but, although it starts at the same low level with *ἀγάπη*, it does not scale the same heights. It is used occasionally of purely sexual love, even when this appears as mere lust (Prov. v. 19; vii. 18, where it is parallel with *ἔρως* in the same sense; Sir. ix. 8). It is used once of love, or perhaps we may even say here, of friendship, to God: "For she (Wisdom) is an eternal treasure to men, those who possess which have prepared *φιλίαν* to God" (Wisd. vii. 14). And it is used once of love to Wisdom herself: "And great good is in *φιλία* of her" (Wisd. viii. 18). But in the majority of cases it expresses merely that love which binds men together in the friendly intercourse of life: Prov. x. 12, ix. 17, parallel with *χάρις*, xvii. 9, xix. 7, xxv. 10, parallel with *χάρις*, xxvii. 5,

¹⁹ Naturally the daily use of the word in its lower senses was not inhibited by its acquisition of its higher senses. It has continued up to the present day. Witness the lines of Christopoulos: *Εἰς βουνὸν ἐγὼ κ' ὁ Ἔρως Κ' ἡ ἀγάπη μου μαζή . . .*; or those of Zalacosta: *Ἀπὸ τῇ μέσῃ μὲ ἄρπαξε, μὲ φίλησε στὸ στόμα Καὶ μοῦπε· γιὰ ἀναστεναγμούς, Γιὰ τῆς ἀγάπης τοῦς καῦμούς Εἶσαι μικρὸς ἀκόμα.* When Clement of Alexandria (*Paed.* iii. xi. 256) tells us that love is not to be estimated by kissing, but by kind deeds (*ἀγάπη οὐκ ἐν φιλήματι, ἀλλ' ἐν εὐνοίᾳ κρίνεται*), that involves the understanding that there was an *ἀγάπη* which expressed itself in kissing; and a similar implication lies in Chrysostom's declaration (*Hom. vii. on Romans*) that *ἀγάπη* does not consist in empty words or mere substantives, but in care and works. Even in the horrible story told by Epiphanius (*Adv. Haer.* i. ii. xxvi, 4; Migne i. 337c) of the Gnostic orgies, where the man bade the woman, "Arise, do *τὴν ἀγάπην* with your brother," using *ἀγάπη*, as Sophocles says, *κακεμφάτως, —ποιεῖν τὴν ἀγάπην* was the standing phrase for celebrating the *Ἀγάπη*—the current use of *ἀγάπη* of the sexual act is doubtless implied.

Sir. vi. 17, xxii. 20, xxv. 1, "harmony of brothers, and *φιλία* of neighbors, and a wife and husband who agree together," xxvii. 18, "*στέρεξον* a friend and be faithful with him; but if thou betray his secrets . . . thou hast destroyed the *φιλίαν* of thy neighbor." These are all natural uses of *φιλίαν*, quite in accordance with its previous history. The impression is conveyed that it has suffered less from the revolution which had been wrought in the common terms for love than its verb.

Φίλος has apparently suffered not at all. It occurs with extraordinary frequency (about a hundred and eighty-two times), and is used quite along classical lines, chiefly as a noun to designate those who are bound to one another by an affection which does not root in ties of kinship (consult such conjunctions as "friends and neighbors," Ps. iii. 7, lxxxvii. 79, Prov. xiv. 20, xviii. 25; "friends and kindred," Prov. xvii. 9). *Ἀγαπητός* (twenty-two times) occupies a different field, and can scarcely be said to encroach upon that appropriated to *φίλος*. It is used chiefly in the singular—often of an only child (Gen. xxii. 2, 12, 16, [Judg. xi. 26], Amos viii. 20, Zech. xii. 10)²⁰—to designate one especially loved; and there is already a class which is called God's *ἀγαπητοί*, beloved ones, so that this phrase is here seen in the making (Ps. lix. 5, cvii. 5, cxxvi. 4). Of course, compounds in *φιλ-* abound; the Greek language has never lost them, and has never formed corresponding compounds in *ἀγαπ-* which might supersede them.²¹ Of these we are particularly interested in such as *φιλάδελφος* (2 Macc. xv. 14, 4 Macc. xiii. 21, xv. 10); *φιλαδελφία* (4 Macc. xiii. 23, 26, xiv. 1); *φιλανθρωπῆν* (2 Macc. xiii. 23); *φιλόανθρωπος* (1

²⁰ Cf. Swete on Mk. i. 11: "*Ἀγαπητός* in the LXX answers to *ἡ ὕλη* (*μονογενής unicus*, cf. Hort, *Two Dissertations*, p. 496) in seven instances out of fifteen." Also Zahn on Mat. iii. 17 (ed. 3, 1910, p. 149, note 68). The usage is classical from Homer down: cf. e.g., W. W. Goodwin, *Demosthenes against Midas*, 1906, p. 95; or more fully R. Whiston, *Demosthenes*, 1868, II, p. 324; and Holden, *Xenophon's Cyropaedia*, iv. vi. 5; Fritzsche *Aristotle's Eth. Eud.* iii. 6, 1233 f. 2: and in criticism E. M. Cope, *Aristotle's Rhetoric*, 1897, p. 150, esp. note.

²¹ An exception like the Homeric *ἀγαπήνωρ* only proves the rule.

Esd. viii. 10, Wisd. i. 6, vii. 23, xii. 19, 2 Macc. iv. 11, 4 Macc. v. 12); *φιλανθρώπως* (2 Macc. ix. 27, 3 Macc. iii. 20); *φιλανθρωπία* (Esd. viii. 13, 2 Macc. vi. 22, xiv. 9, 3 Macc. iii. 15, 18); *φιλόστοργος* (4 Macc. xv. 13); *φιλοστόργως* (2 Macc. ix. 21); *φιλοστοργία* (2 Macc. vi. 25, 4 Macc. xv. 6, 9). By *φιλαδελφία* and its companions, love to one's people—in this case the Jews—or, in other words, patriotism is expressed. *Φιλανθρωπία* with its group is used as a general term for kindness, graciousness, such as that shown by superiors to inferiors, especially by monarchs to those having official dealings with them (consult the paralleling of the adverb with *ἐπιεικῶς*, "fairly," "moderately," in 2 Macc. ix. 27).²² The fundamental sense of *φιλοστοργία* and its group comes out clearly in 4 Macc. xv. 6, 9, 13, where it is used of mother-love; in other passages its application is extended to any strong affection: "I would with *fitting affection* have remembered your kindness" (2 Macc. ix. 21); "there are things which it is not lawful to do even *for natural love* of life" (2 Macc. vi. 20). A great elevation of sense awaited these words in the future as a new religious spirit was breathed into them. "Be *φιλόστοργοι* to one another in *φιλαδελφία*," says Paul (Rom. xii. 10), plumbing the depths of the feeling of brotherhood. "But when the *φιλανθρωπία* of our Savior, God, appeared," he writes again (Tit. iii. 4), soaring to the heights of the divine "humanity." Or we may find our examples of the heightened sense of the terms, if we prefer, in the *φιλανθρωπία* which Clement of Rome (xlviii. 1) demands that the Corinthian Christians should more fully manifest; or in the *φιλοστοργία* which the writer of the Epistle to Diognetus

²² Similarly Aristeas, § 290, ed. Wendland, p. 77, says that Ptolemy's greatness consisted not in the glory of his power and wealth, but in his *ἐπιεικία καὶ φιλανθρωπία*, "moderation and graciousness." Similarly in § 208, *φιλάνθρωπος* is "humane," and in § 36, *φιλανθρωπότερον* is "very graciously." In § 265, p. 71, on the other hand it is said apparently that the most necessary thing for a king to have is the *φιλανθρωπία καὶ ἀγάπησις*, "good feeling and affection" of his subjects, "for with these will come an indissoluble bond of loyalty (*εὐνοίας*)."

(i. 1) asserts to be the cement which binds the Christian brotherhood together; or in the "great *φιλανθρωπία καὶ ἀγάπη*" for which this latter writer celebrates his God (ix. 5).

It is worth while, perhaps, to turn directly from the Septuagint to the Apostolic Fathers, that we may observe how the great revolution in the usage of the Greek terms for love, of which we get our first glimpse in the Septuagint, looks, after its complete adjustment to the high conceptions of divine revelation. The Greek of the Apostolic Fathers is, like the Greek of the Septuagint, fundamentally the popular Greek of its day; but, no doubt, it can scarcely be looked upon as simply the same popular Greek upon which the writers of the Septuagint draw, at a later stage of its development. The religious language of the Apostolic Fathers has been profoundly influenced directly by the usage of the Septuagint itself. From the Septuagint they derive a large part of their religious inspiration, and upon it they draw in great part for the vocabulary in which they express their religious conceptions. Still more profoundly the religious language of the Apostolic Fathers has been influenced by the usage of the New Testament, itself deeply affected by that of the Septuagint. The fundamental basis of the language of the Apostolic Fathers nevertheless is the common Greek of the day; and that, needless to say, is just the common Greek which the Septuagint uses, at a stage of its development some three centuries later. To say this, obviously, is to question the propriety of describing the Greek of the Septuagint as in any very distinctive sense Judaic or Alexandrian. In the matter of the linguistic phenomena which are for the moment occupying our attention—the supersession of *φιλεῖν* by *ἀγαπᾶν* as the general term for loving, the coming of the substantive *ἀγάπη* into employment—it happens, no doubt, that they meet us first in the writings of Alexandrian Jews; and we may be tempted to conjecture on that ground that they are peculiarities of the speech of Alexandrian Jews. This conjecture loses its plausibility, however, when the usages in question

are observed in an even more extreme form in the Apostolic Fathers. The Apostolic Fathers were not Jews of Alexandria; they fairly ring the Mediterranean basin in their provenience; and it is incredible that, great as is the influence of the Septuagint upon their religious terminology, it has given them their fundamental language. Whenever a usage is common to the Septuagint, Philo, and the Apostolic Fathers, it is safe to say not only that it was familiar to the Greek-speaking Jews of Alexandria, but also that it was not alien to the Greek-speaking world at the opening of the Christian era.²³

The compositions of the Apostolic Fathers differ very greatly in general character and subject-matter from the series of writings which the Septuagint translators rendered into Greek. If we think of the Apostolic Fathers in their narrowest compass, as including only the Epistles of Clement, Barnabas, Ignatius and Polycarp, they are merely a collection of hortatory letters, devoted to the enforcement of religious and ethical duty. In such writings we may anticipate relatively more frequent mention of love as a religious and ethical conception on the one hand, and much less mention of it as a mere fact of daily occurrence on the other, than was natural in a varied assemblage of historical, poetical, and prophetic writings such as we have in the Septuagint. The addition to these simple letters of the other compositions which it is the custom to class with them under the caption of Apostolic Fathers—the homily commonly called 2 Clement, the book of Church-order known as the Teaching of the Apostles, the lengthy Apocalypse which goes under the name of the Shepherd of Hermas, the anonymous apology called the Epistle to Diognetus—brings no great change into the linguistic character of the whole. So far as the usage of the terms denoting love is concerned, these books are all of a piece, a fact which gives

²³ See some apposite remarks on the general matter in A. Thumb, *Die griechische Sprache im Zeitalter des Hellenismus*, 1901, pp. 182 f. and 185. On the affinity of the Greek of Philo and Biblical Greek, cf. H. H. A. Kennedy, *Sources of New Testament Greek*, 1895, p. 67.

us confidence in viewing them as mirroring the established usage in the Christian churches of the time.

The chief fact which attracts our attention is a negative one: that *φιλεῖν*, *φιλία* have practically no place in these writings. Each occurs but a single time; and both in sufficiently weak senses. Ignatius exhorts Polycarp (ii. 1) thus: "If to good scholars only thou dost feel kindly (*φιλῆς*), this is not thankworthy in thee; rather bring the pestilent to submission by gentleness." The content of *φιλεῖν* here lies close to *πραΰτης*: to love is not much more than being mild and gentle in behavior. Hermas (*Mand.* 10, 1, 4) reprobates being "mixed up in business affairs, and riches, and heathen entanglements (*φιλίαις*), and the many other concerns of this world." Even *φίλος* occurs only eight times; and the list of compounds of *φιλ-* is comparatively small.²⁴ It looks almost as if *φιλεῖν* was ready to vanish away. Even *ἐρᾶν* (Ign. *Pol.* iv. 3, *Rom.* ii. 1, vii. 2), *ἔρως* (*Rom.* vii. 3), and *στέργειν* (1 Clem. i. 3; Polyc. *Philip* iv. 2) occur more frequently. *Στέργειν* is used in its fundamental sense of natural affection—here of the love of wives for their husbands—and in one of the instances of its occurrence is brought into contrast with *ἀγαπᾶν* as a word of deeper intensity of significance: 1 Clem. i. 3: "Loving their own husbands as is meet"; Polyc. *ad Philip.* iv. 2: "And, then, let us teach our wives also to walk in the faith that hath been given unto them, and in *ἀγάπῃ* and *ἀγνείᾳ*, *στεργοῦσας* their own husbands in all truth, and *ἀγαπῶσας* all men equally in all chastity." *Ἐρᾶν* is in every instance used of "desiring" something or "desiring" to do something—in one case preparing the way for the famous exclamation, which has already been spoken of, "My *Ἐρως* has been crucified!"

Quite a different state of affairs meets the eye when we look at *ἀγαπᾶν* and its accompanying noun and verbal ad-

²⁴ *φιλαδελφία*, *φιланθρωπία*, *φιλάνθρωπος*, *φιλαργυρεῖν*, *φιλαργυρία*, *φιλάργυρος*, *φιλοδέσποτος*, *φιλόζωος*, *φιλονεικία*, *φιλόνεικος*, *φιλοξενία*, *φιλόξενος*, *φιλοπονεῖν*, *φιλόσοφος*, *φιλοστοργία*, *φιλότεκνος*, *φιλοτιμία*, *φιλόυλος*: eighteen.

jective. Ἀγαπᾶν occurs about seventy-nine times; ἀγάπη about ninety-four times; and ἀγαπητός about twenty-five times, of which seventeen are in the plural, ἀγαπητοί. Ignatius (20, 40, 6) and 1 Clement (8, 27, 18) are the largest depositories of these terms; but ἀγαπᾶν and ἀγάπη at least are fairly well distributed through the whole series of writers.²⁵ Too much stress must not be laid upon the fact that no instances of the lower senses of ἀγαπᾶν, ἀγάπη occur; that, for example, in no single case is either term used of sexual love. There was little occasion to speak of sexual love in these writings. But it may be worth noting that it almost seems as if ἀγαπᾶν was felt as a contrast to sexual love. When the twelve virgins require Hermas to pass the night with them, at all events, they emphasize that it is to be as a brother and not as a husband; and they add, "Hereafter we will dwell with thee, for we ἀγαπῶμεν thee exceedingly" (*Sim.* ix. 11, 3; cf. *Vis.* i. 1, "I began to ἀγαπᾶν her as a sister"). This could scarcely have been said precisely thus, unless ἀγαπᾶν had been felt in the circles for which Hermas wrote as a word of higher than sexual suggestion. A somewhat similar impression may be made when we read in Polycarp (*Philip.* iv. 2) an exhortation to wives to walk in the faith that has been given them, στεργούσας their own husbands in all truth, and ἀγαποῦσας all men equally in all chastity." The words could not easily change places, and ἀγαπᾶν appears to be contrasted with even the purest sexual love. Saying this, however, is in any event saying too little for these special writings. The usage of ἀγαπᾶν and ἀγάπη alike in them is at the top of their applications. They are here very distinctly words of ethical and spiritual import. This too, no doubt, finds its account less in the implications of the words themselves than in the subjects dealt with in these writings. But it has this not unimportant significance with respect to the words themselves, that, when these high

²⁵ Ἀγαπητός is found only in 1 Clement (18 times), Ignatius (6), and the Martyrium of Polycarp, Hermas, and the Didache (each once). Ἀγαπητοί is almost a *peculium* of 1 Clement (15 times to Ignatius' 2).

ethical and spiritual aspects of love were dealt with, it was, among the words for love, ἀγαπᾶν and ἀγάπη which suggested themselves to express them; and that with such inevitableness that only these terms were employed for the purpose. No doubt we must keep in consideration that ἀγαπᾶν and ἀγάπη were very distinctly the common words for love and may have been the first terms to suggest themselves for the expression of any kind of love. There were, however, other terms still in use, and they would have been employed had there been any unnaturalness in using ἀγαπᾶν, ἀγάπη in these high senses.

There is an occasional use of ἀγαπᾶν with the infinitive, to express what one "loves" or would "love" to do (*e.g.*, Ign. *Trall.* iv. 2: "I *desire* to suffer"). But what is almost uniformly expressed by it is the love of the Christian proclamation in its three great exemplifications of the love of God or of Christ to man, the love of God's people to Him or to Christ, and the love of the Christian brethren to one another. Polycarp accordingly tells (iii. 3) the Philippians that Paul's letter to them had the power to build them up into the faith given to them, "which is the mother of us all, while hope followeth after, and love goeth before—love," he proceeds to explain, "towards God and Christ and towards our neighbor." Christians are "the children of love," as Barnabas phrases it; or as Polycarp calls Ignatius and his companions (*Philip.* i. *init.*) "the followers of the True Love," that is to say, of Christ, here called by the great title of Ἡ Ἀληθὴς Ἀγάπη; and if they are to be imitators of Him who so loved us (*Diog.* x. 3), they must love, "love in Christ," "love according to Jesus Christ." "Faith is the beginning, and love the end of life" (Ign. *Eph.* xiv. 1); "faith and love are all in all and nothing is preferred before them" (Ign. *Smyr.* vi. 1). As a typical passage, exhibiting the lofty sense which these terms had acquired in the familiar speech of these Christians, we may take perhaps the encomium on love which Clement pens to the Corinthians, inciting them to practice it in their own

lives. It is full, it is true, of echoes of Paul's great hymn to love in the thirteenth chapter of his own First Letter to the Corinthians; but it is not less representative of the speech of the Apostolic Fathers on that account. "Let him that hath love in Christ," we read (c. 49), "fulfil the commandments of Christ. Who can declare the bond of the love of God? Who is sufficient to tell the majesty of its beauty? The height whereunto love exalteth is unspeakable. Love joineth us with God; love endureth all things, is longsuffering in all things. There is nothing vulgar, nothing arrogant in love. Love hath no divisions, love maketh no seditions, love doeth all things in concord. In love were all God's elect made perfect; without love nothing is well-pleasing to God; in love the Master took us unto Himself; for the love which He had towards us, Jesus Christ our Lord hath given His blood for us by the will of God, and His flesh for our flesh, and His life for our lives. Ye see, dearly beloved, how great and marvelous a thing is love, and there is no declaring its perfection. Who is sufficient to be found therein save those to whom God shall vouchsafe it?" It is this kind of love which, in the Apostolic Fathers, ἀγαπᾶν and ἀγάπη are practically exclusively used to express. "Oh the exceeding great φιλανθρωπία καὶ ἀγάπη of God" (*Diog.* ix. 2): "How wilt thou ἀγαπήσας Him that so προαγαπήσαντα thee!" (x. 2): "Now He that raised Him from the dead will raise us also if ἀγαπῶμεν the things that He ἡγάπησεν" (*Polyc. Philip.* ii. 2). This is the circle through which the idea of love runs in them.

It ought perhaps to be mentioned before we leave the subject that in *Ign. Smyrn.* viii. 2 we have an instance of a usage of ἀγάπη created by Christianity and vocal with the significance which love had for Christianity. "It is not lawful," we read, "apart from the bishop either to baptize or ἀγάπην ποιεῖν"—that is to say, as the parallel with baptizing suggests, "celebrate the Lord's Supper."²⁶ The Lord's

²⁶ See *Jude* 12 and *2 Peter* ii. 13, and compare Lightfoot's note on the passage.

Supper was the feast of love. "I wish the bread of God," says Ignatius in another place (*Rom.* vii. 3), "which is the flesh of Christ, who was the seed of David; and I wish for a draught of His blood, which is love (*ἀγάπη*) incorruptible." And in yet another place (*Trall.* viii. 2): "Do ye, then, arm yourselves with gentleness and recover yourselves in faith, which is the flesh of the Lord, and in love (*ἀγάπη*) which is the blood of Jesus Christ." An extension of the usage of *ἀγάπη* like this is vocal with the place which the conception and the word had taken in the Christian community.

The New Testament stands between the Septuagint and the Apostolic Fathers, receiving from the one, giving to the other, sharing the particular type of Greek common to both. In this type of Greek, *ἀγαπᾶν*, *ἀγάπη* had become the general terms for the expression of love; and the Greek of the New Testament participates fully in this usage. *Ἀγαπᾶν* occurs about a hundred and forty-one times in the New Testament, *ἀγάπη* about a hundred and eighteen times, and *ἀγαπητός* about sixty-one times, while *φιλεῖν* (excluding three instances in which it means "to kiss": *Mat.* xxvi. 48, *Mk.* xiv. 44, *Lk.* xxii. 47) occurs only about twenty-two times, *φιλία* but once, and even *φίλος* only about twenty-nine times. *Ἐρᾶν*, *ἔρως*, and *στέργειν*, *στοργή* do not occur at all. It is perhaps worth while also to observe the distribution of the several terms through the New Testament. The book of Acts contains no one of them except *φίλος* (x. 24, xix. 31, xxvii. 3) and *ἀγαπητός* (xv. 25).²⁷ Hebrews has *ἀγαπᾶν* and *ἀγάπη* each twice; James *ἀγαπᾶν* three times and *φιλία* once—the only occurrence of *φιλία* in the New Testament; 1 Peter *ἀγαπᾶν* four times and *ἀγάπη* three times; 2 Peter *ἀγαπᾶν* twice and *ἀγάπη* twice; Jude *ἀγαπᾶν* once and *ἀγάπη* three times. *Φιλεῖν* does not occur in Hebrews or any of the Catholic Epistles; *φιλία* only in James. In the Synoptic Gospels *ἀγαπᾶν* occurs twenty-three times (8, 6, 9), *φιλεῖν* five times (4, 0, 1); *ἀγάπη* only twice (once each in *Mat-*

²⁷ It contains besides only *φιλανθρωπῶς*, xxvii. 3.

thew and Luke). The great depository of ἀγαπᾶν is John: it occurs thirty-seven times in the Gospel, twenty-eight times in the First Epistle, and twice and once in 2 and 3 John respectively—making sixty-eight times in all, to which may be added four times in Revelation. Next to John comes Paul, with thirty-three occurrences, distributed through all the epistles except Philippians, Philemon, 2 Timothy, and Titus. Ephesians is the most copiously supplied of the Epistles (ten times), and Romans next (seven times). With ἀγάπη the tables are turned. It is predominately a Pauline term, being found in every epistle without exception (1 Cor. fourteen, 2 Cor. ten, Eph. ten, showing the highest figures), and totaling seventy-eight occurrences. Over against this copious use by Paul, it is found in John only twenty-eight times (Gospel seven times, 1 John eighteen, 2 John two, 3 John one, to which Rev. adds two). Ἀγαπητός also is a Pauline term, its sixty-one occurrences being distributed thus: Synoptic Gospels nine times, Acts once, Paul twenty times, Hebrews once, James three times, Peter eight times, Jude three times, John's Epistles ten times. It is particularly in the Gospels that φιλεῖν is used: in John thirteen times, and in the Synoptics five (4, 6, 13). In all of Paul's epistles it occurs but twice, twice also in Revelation, and nowhere else in the New Testament. We may perhaps generalize by saying that ἀγαπᾶν is distributed fairly evenly through the New Testament with some accumulation in the Gospel and First Epistle of John; that ἀγάπη is predominantly a Pauline word with a secondary depository in 1 John; and that φιλεῖν belongs particularly to the Gospel of John and after that to the Synoptics.

The highly preponderating use of ἀγαπᾶν, ἀγάπη in the New Testament is not due primarily to the deliberate selection of these terms by the writers of the New Testament as the fittest to express the high idea of love to which they had to give expression, though they were the fittest of Greek words to express this high idea and had moreover been

prepared to express it by their usage in the Septuagint.²⁸ It is due primarily to the currency of these terms in the Greek native to the New Testament writers as the general terms for love—for love at its highest, no doubt, but also for love at its lowest. There can be little doubt that, had the New Testament writers had occasion to speak at large of sexual love—to write, for example, a series of narratives like those of Genesis xxiv. and Judges xvi. and 1 Samuel xiii.—they would have employed ἀγαπᾶν and ἀγάπη in them just as the writers of the Septuagint have done. Ballantyne is so far quite right, when, criticizing Trench's suggestion that the explanation of the absence of ἔρως, ἐρᾶν, ἐραστής from the New Testament is, no doubt, in part "that these words by the corrupt use of the world had become so steeped in earthly sensuous passion, carried such an atmosphere of this about with them, that the truth of God refrained from the

²⁸ E. F. Gelpke, *Theolog. Studien und Kritiken*, 1849, pp. 646 f., gives the following account of these words as they came to the hands of the writers of the New Testament. "The older profane writers know only the verb and adjective, not, however, the noun, precisely in which it was that the Christian writers found the abstract expression, recurring on every page, of the sentiment which bound all believers together. The verb, moreover, is found already with profane writers in the purer sense of reverential love, although it was later interchanged also, when conceived sensuously, with φιλεῖν, *amare*, the expression for personal affection. This usage is not only recognized in the LXX, where the word, it must be confessed, is used even more sensuously, and nevertheless also of the more sacred affection (Gen. xxii. 2); and again in the New Testament; but also it receives, first in this connection, its full content, as this follows of itself from the most Christian of all Christian declarations, 1 John iv. 8, ὁ θεὸς ἀγάπη ἐστίν (the abstract term is used, with the sense that God is the personal Love, presenting Himself personally), and from the religion of the spirit freed from all particularism and all sensuous elements. The word acquired, however, an entirely new, peculiarly Christian, sense, still further in the new demonstration of love conditioned by the deepened sentiment of love. Accordingly the word is used (1) of the love of God for Jesus and of Jesus for God, and of the love of both for men, and then again of the love of men for God and Christ, derived from the love of God and Christ, and of the love of men for one another inseparable from this as its vital basis; and then (2) of the actual, powerfully arising manifestation of love, the loving conduct in word and deed, 1 John iii. 1, cf. James iv. 8."

defiling contact with them," he declares²⁹ that "This family of words was not used for Christian love for the very same reason that ἐπιθυμέω and its family were not used, namely because they were not the general words in Hellenistic Greek for *love*." When he proceeds to say that "they were not used in their own proper senses simply because there was no occasion to refer to these ideas by *any* words," he is right in the main affirmation, but wrong, as we have seen, in seeming to assign sexual love to ἐρᾶν, ἔρως as their "proper sense." The simple truth is that the New Testament writers use ἀγαπᾶν, ἀγάπη to express the idea of love because it was the word for love current in their circle and lying thus directly in their way. They do not use ἐρᾶν, ἔρως, στέργειν, στοργή because they had no such occasion, in speaking of love, to throw up into emphasis the peculiar implications of these words—of passion or of nature—as to demand their employment. So far as such occasion arose, they had no difficulty with the words (Rev. xii. 10, φιλόστοργος; Rom. i. 31, 2 Tim. iii. 3, ἄστοργος). They do not push φιλεῖν into the background; they found it in the background,—from which they do not draw it, not because they looked upon it as a base word, but because it had become too inexpressive a word to meet their needs, especially since the Septuagint had communicated to the ordinarily current word for love additional shades of suggestion which enlarged its range of application precisely on the side on which the New Testament writers desired to speak of love. When φιλεῖν served their purpose better than ἀγαπᾶν, they used φιλεῖν; but this use could not escape being exceptional just because ἀγαπᾶν had become the general word for love, and the Septuagint had prepared it for New Testament use by filling it with the content which the New Testament writers most needed to express.

In the actual use which the New Testament writers make of φιλεῖν it is made evident that its distinctive suggestions have not faded out of sight; it is because of these distinc-

²⁹ *Bibliotheca Sacra*, July 1889, p. 533.

tive suggestions that the New Testament writers occasionally make use of it—as it was doubtless because of them that it maintained its shrunken, if we cannot yet say its precarious, existence in the current speech of the day. It is meaningless for Gildersleeve to say that “The larger use of ἀγαπᾶν in Christian writers is perhaps due to the avoidance of φιλεῖν in the sense of ‘kissing,’” although Moulton and Milligan think it worth while to quote the remark. And we can hardly account for Woolsey’s suggestion that “The increased use of ἀγάπη and its family in the Septuagint and in the Christian Scriptures is probably to be accounted for by the frequent use of φιλεῖν and its derivatives in denoting sensual love, and in covering up foul acts under a veil of words so common and important.” Ἀγαπᾶν had itself been current from its earliest recorded usage in senses as external as “kissing”; and in the Septuagint itself it is employed in senses quite as foul as any for which φιλεῖν was ever used. Ballantyne’s remark is again quite apposite: “If husbands are commanded to ἀγαπᾶν their wives because the other verb would have suggested sensual passion, it is unaccountable that wives should be commanded to be φίλανδροι (Tit. ii. 4). If men are not commanded to φιλεῖν God as being inappropriate, it is strange that they are condemned for not being φιλόθεοι (2 Tim. iii. 4).” The plain fact is that φιλεῖν had come to be comparatively little used because, ἀγαπᾶν having superseded it as the general term for love in common use, there was very little need for it. It had shrunken from the general term for love to the designation of a particular aspect of love, and was called for only when this particular aspect of love required emphasizing.

It is only right, then, that we should look, in each instance of its employment, for the reason why φιλεῖν is preferred instead of the prevailing ἀγαπᾶν. That such a reason exists it is natural to assume. It is not easy to believe that a body of writers have deserted their habitual usage in a few instances without some reason for it. This reason may,

no doubt, be found in merely grammatical or purely rhetorical considerations, or in personal habits of speech belonging to individual writers; but it may also be rooted in the underlying implications of the words themselves by which a rarer form is given the advantage in special circumstances. It may not be easy to trace it; but pure caprice is not to be lightly assumed; and ordinarily some special fitness in the language actually employed may at least be suggested, if not actually shown. We may take the usage of Paul as an example. It is sheerly incredible that he should desert his copious use of ἀγαπᾶν (ἀγάπη) in just two instances in favor of φιλεῖν without some reason for it. We may perhaps see that reason in the more pointed suggestion of personal predilection which φιλεῖν conveys. This appears fairly clear in the case of 1 Cor. xvi. 22, when we observe that οὐ φιλεῖ there, in accordance with a frequent usage of οὐ in conditional clauses, coalesce in a sharply positive notion, so that we are to read, not "If anyone falls short of really loving the Lord," but, "If any one not-loves the Lord"—that is to say, "hates Him." Φιλεῖν rather than ἀγαπᾶν is the proper word to use, remarks T. C. Edwards, because it expresses a natural affection, in this negative statement a personal antipathy. Paul "is thinking of deep-seated antipathy, a malignant hatred of Jesus Christ": "If any one turns away from Jesus Christ with antipathy." It is not of failure to love Jesus Christ supremely of which Paul is speaking; it is of failure to love Him at all. It is more difficult to see our way in Tit. iii. 15, "Salute them that love us in faith"; but the same general influences may not improperly be assumed to have determined the language here too. As Huther remarks, φιλεῖν may here mark "the inner personal relation." In other words, Paul is sending greetings to certain personal friends in the Christian body. The addition of ἐν πίστει is not fatal to this assumption. It may mean no more than that these friends of Paul's were also fellow-Christians (*cf.* for the order of the words, Eph. vi. 1).

When we turn to the larger body of instances which confront us in the Synoptic Gospels, we find ourselves in the same atmosphere. Only in a single passage has φιλεῖν a personal object, Mat. x. 37: "He that loveth father or mother more than me is not worthy of me; and he that loveth son or daughter more than me is not worthy of me." Th. Zahn's comment seems to meet the case: "Jesus declares him unworthy of Him, who, in the case of the decision under consideration, permits love to parents and children to obtain the upper hand of love to Jesus (*cf.* viii. 21 ff). Through the contrast with kindred, to whom we are bound by natural love, already prepared for in verse 25 (οἰκιακοί, as verse 36), it is brought about that Jesus here represents the right relation to His person by φιλεῖν, not by ἀγαπᾶν (v. 43-46, vi. 24), because only φιλεῖν clearly expresses the hearty affection (*Zuneigung*) which roots in affinity—whether bodily or elective." That is to say the love of Jesus' people for Him is expressed here by φιλεῖν because thus it is brought expressly into comparison with the love of affinity: this spiritual affinity is to take precedence of all other. What He is saying is, not that His people must give their supreme love to Him rather than others, but that they must manifest in their conduct that their fundamental inclination, "drawing," is to Him above others; He must be supremely attractive to them.

In the other Synoptic instances φιλεῖν is followed by the accusative of the thing (Mat. xxiii. 6, Lk. xx. 46), or in one case (Mat. vi. 5) construed in the same sense with the infinitive—the only passage in the New Testament in which either φιλεῖν or ἀγαπᾶν is construed with the infinitive. From the point of view of the classical usage, φιλεῖν is properly used in these passages; and it bears its ordinary classical sense in them³⁰—which is not quite the sense that ἀγαπᾶν

³⁰ Schmidt remarks (p. 479): "Even when applied to things, φιλεῖν retains its ordinary meaning and designates therefore the satisfaction in things which are pleasing (φιλία) to us, the possession of which, or contact with which, is pleasant to us. Even evil or contemptible things

bears in similar constructions. In its best classical usage, ἀγαπᾶν with the accusative of the thing means not so much to like a thing, to be pleased with it, as to content oneself with it; with the infinitive not so much to be wont to do a thing, as to put up with it. Meyer is perfectly right, then, when he finds φιλεῖν the proper word at Mat. vi. 5, and comments: "*They have pleasure in it, they love to do it—a usage frequently met with in the classical writers.*" We must note, however, that ἀγαπᾶν with the infinitive had already acquired this sense in the Septuagint (*e.g.*, Ps. xxx. 12, Prov. xx. 16, Jer. v. 31, xiv. 10), and is repeatedly used in the New Testament with the accusative of the thing in the sense of liking, taking pleasure in,³¹ not of contenting ourselves with, putting up with; and indeed we have merely to turn to Lk. xi. 43 to find ἀγαπᾶν instead of φιλεῖν in a passage which seems the exact parallel of Mat. xxiii. 6, although φιλεῖν is used at Lk. xx. 46. We are in the presence, here, apparently of an unsettled usage. It seems still to be more natural to use φιλεῖν in the sense of liking things, or of liking to do things; but ἀγαπᾶν is fast encroaching upon it in this usage also.

So long as φιλεῖν remained in use at all in this sense, one would think it would be inevitable in such a passage as Rev. xxii. 15: "Without are the dogs, and the sorcerers, and the fornicators, and the murderers, and the idolaters, and everyone that loveth and doeth a lie." It is a personal affinity with the false, inward kinship with it, leading to its outward practice, which is intimated;³² and this is even more emphatically asserted if the other order of the words be adopted, and the progress of thought be from the mere

are included, Aristotle, *Eth. Nic.*, 8.2.1: 'For it appears that not everything is loved, but τὸ φιλητόν, and this is the good, or the pleasant, or the useful.'

³¹ Lk. x. 43, Jno. iii. 19, xii. 43, 2 Thes. iv. 5, 10, 1 Pet. iii. 10, 2 Pet. ii. 15, 1 Jno. ii. 15, Rev. xii. 11, xxii. 15.

³² Cf. Swete in *loc.*: "ὁ φιλῶν goes deeper than ὁ ποιῶν; he who loves falsehood is in his nature akin to it, and has through his love of it proved his affinity to Satan, who is ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ (Jno. viii. 44)."

doing of a lie to personal identification with it. The use of *φιλεῖν* in Rev. iii. 19 is probably determined by the contrast between the treatment described and the sentiment asserted. What our Lord is saying is that reproof and chastening from Him are proof, not of hatred but of love; and it was natural to employ in this assertion the most personal and therefore in such a connection the most emotional term for love. The emphasis on the pronoun should not be neglected: "As for me, whomsoever *I* love, I reprove and chasten." The most intimate relations are suggested, and the most intimate feelings are naturally put forward: it is the love of a parent disciplining his child for its good which is pictured. And the use of *φιλεῖν* is all the more striking, that in the underlying passage, Prov. iii. 12, "For whom the Lord loves, He rebukes," *ἀγαπᾶν* is the word employed. There is an advance made even on this affecting passage of Proverbs in tenderness of expression.³³

It is especially in the Gospel of John that *φιλεῖν* occurs (thirteen times), as indeed does *ἀγαπᾶν* also (thirty-seven times).³⁴ In about one out of every four instances of the occurrence of a verb for love in this Gospel, *φιλεῖν* is em-

³³ Cf. Swete *in loc.*: "*φιλω* (Bengel: Philadelphiensem *ἡγάπησεν*, Laodicensem *φιλεῖ*) is perhaps deliberately preferred to the less emotional and less human *ἀγαπῶ* (i. 5, iii. 9) notwithstanding the use of the latter in Prov. iii. 12 (LXX. *ὃν γὰρ ἀγαπᾷ κύριος ἐλέγχει*), which supplies the groundwork of the thought."

³⁴ A fresh study of *ἀγαπᾶν* and *φιλεῖν*, especially in John, by Sallie Neil Roach taking its point of departure from G. B. Stevens, *Johannine Theology*, Ch. xi., is printed in *The Review and Expositor*, 1913, x, pp. 531 ff. Her discrimination of terms is as follows (p. 533): "*Ἀγαπᾶν* (and the same is true of the noun, *ἀγάπη*) carries with it *invariably* the idea of the rights or the good of the object, sought at the cost of the subject, while *φιλεῖν* as uniformly suggests the pleasure of the subject as associated with and derived from the object." She speaks of this as looking upon *ἀγαπᾶν* as the altruistic, and *φιλεῖν* as the egoistic term for love. Perhaps the same general idea might be better expressed by distinguishing the two as the love of benevolence and the love of complacency; and perhaps better still as the love of regard and the love of delight. All the Johannine passages in which *φιλεῖν* occurs are examined with a view to validating the suggested distinction.

ployed; the proportion is even greater for Revelation, no doubt (one out of three), and not very much less in the Synoptic Gospels, but the absolute number of occurrences in these cases is not large enough to be impressive. In all of its occurrences in John's Gospel, moreover, except one (xii. 25), *φιλεῖν* has a personal object. The single instance in which it is construed with the accusative of a thing (xii. 25) is altogether similar to the instances of like construction in the Synoptic Gospels and Revelation. Loving is brought in it into sharp contrast with hating: "He who loves his life shall lose it, and he who hates his life in this world shall preserve it unto eternal life." It is a proverbial saying of universal application, adduced here in support of the solemn declaration of the preceding verse that fruit-bearing comes through sacrifice. The loving of life spoken of, then, is such pleasure in it, such a fixing of the heart upon it and doting on it, that nothing else comes into consideration in comparison with it. Pure joy in living, says our Lord in effect, is a short-sighted policy, because there lies something beyond this living which is absorbing our attention. Undoubtedly *φιλεῖν* is the appropriate word to express this idea, and has a pungency when employed to express it which the more customary *ἀγαπᾶν* would lack.

In one of the instances in John in which the object is personal, the subject is "the world"; and those whom the world is said to love are described as "its own" (xv. 19): "If the world hateth you, ye know that it hath hated me first: if ye were of the world, the world would love its own; but because ye are not of the world, but I have chosen you out of the world, therefore the world hateth you." The appropriateness of *φιλεῖν* here is striking: it is very especially adapted to express the love of inner affinity—the love that grows out of the perception of something in the object especially attractive to the subject; and inner affinity is precisely what is emphasized here. Had *ἀγαπᾶν* been used, the simple fact of the love would be stated, and the fitness,

inevitableness, of the love and hatred spoken of would have remained unexpressed.³⁵

In two other instances what is spoken of is the love of the man Jesus for a friend (xi. 3, 30, *cf.* xi. 11): "Behold, he whom Thou lovest is sick"; "Behold, how He loved him!" Here, too, the use of *φιλεῖν* is so obviously appropriate as to seem inevitable; the love of friendship might almost seem to be the special field of *φιλεῖν*. *Ἀγαπᾶν*, of course, could have been employed in its stead. It is actually used in xi. 5, where the Evangelist states the simple objective fact, for the purpose of his narrative: "Now Jesus *ἠγάπα* Martha, and her sister, and Lazarus"; that is to say, Jesus felt sincere regard for them. *Φιλεῖν* is used when the words are taken off of the lips of the anxious sisters in their petition for aid, and of the Jews when they observed Jesus' tears. It emphasizes the personal intimacy of the affection, such personal intimacy as justified the appeal to Him for prompt aid, and His tears at the grave.³⁶ It is Jesus' human heart which is here unveiled to us.

Quite close to these instances lies the employment of *φιλεῖν* in xx. 2 to express the affection of Jesus for John and Peter. Mary Magdalene, we are told, when she saw the stone removed from the grave on the Resurrection morn, "runneth and cometh to Simon Peter and the other disciple whom Jesus loved (*ἐφίλει*)"—where it seems most natural to understand both disciples to be described as loved by Jesus.³⁷ "The disciple whom Jesus *ἠγάπα*" is the standing description of John in the latter part of the Gospel (xiii. 23, xix. 26, xxi. 7, 20); and obviously *ἠγάπα* is used in this description of intimate personal affection, and not of what

³⁵ *Cf.* Karl Horn, *Abfassung, Geschichtlichkeit und Zweck vom Evang. des Johannes*, Kap. 21, 1904, p. 170: "In xv. 19, it is said very significantly: 'If ye were of the world, ὁ κόσμος would love its own'; therefore natural inclination (*Zuneigung*) to that which is of kindred nature and has sprung from the same root is what is expressed."

³⁶ This is excellently shown by Horn, as above.

³⁷ So Westcott *in loc.*: *cf.* what Woolsey says, *Andover Review*, August 1885, p. 166.

we may speak of as the official love of Jesus for His disciples or of the saving love of the Redeemer for His children. Woolsey does not go too far, when, having regard to the imperfect tense, he remarks:³⁸ "It was an intimacy between the Master and the disciple of no short acquaintance. He loved him with a continuous love." It has disturbed the commentators, therefore, that in the one instance of xx. 2, ἐφίλει has displaced the ἡγάπα. One has been tempted to say it is because Peter is included with John in this one instance, to which it has been added that Peter was now under a cloud. Another has gone a step further and suggested that it is because "the beloved disciple himself had temporarily fallen into unbelief and was for the moment not worthy of the higher love" expressed by ἀγαπᾶν.³⁹ These suggestions take for granted that ἀγαπᾶν, even in such a connection, conveys a "higher" sense than φιλεῖν. Such an assumption underlies Woolsey's description of Jesus' love for John, as expressed in the ἡγάπα, not only in such terms as this: "He discerned in His disciple lovely traits. . . . His love for John was a tried, strong, personal love, such as the man Jesus could feel for some souls with especial endowments which few possessed"; but also in such as these: "And it was a religious love which no one could so correctly feel as He who had an intuitive knowledge of hearts. . . . It was an earthly love of a heavenly soul."⁴⁰ Φιλεῖν, it is suggested, might be used to denote such love as this, but it could not express it; ἀγαπᾶν alone could express it, and would be the only natural word to employ in order to express it. This seems to leave the question, Why, then is ἡγάπα replaced by ἐφίλει in John xx. 2, more clamorous than ever. Woolsey's own explanation⁴¹ is not very clear, and indeed does not profess to be. "It is in this place," he says, "not altogether plain why ἐφίλει is used instead of ἡγάπα. Meyer, in his remark on

³⁸ As cited, p. 167.

³⁹ E. A. Abbott, *Johannine Vocabulary*, p. 241, bottom (1728 p.).

⁴⁰ As cited, p. 167.

⁴¹ Page 177.

the passage, says that ἐφίλει expresses the remembrance of Christ with a more tender sensibility,⁴² to which B. Weiss seems to assent. Westcott⁴³ in like manner thinks that a personal affection is more strikingly shown than it would be by ἡγάπα. The Vulgate translates as elsewhere by *amabat*. All these explanations concur in something like this: that Jesus was conceived of under the power of a new affection." The meaning of this appears to be that in the interval between the death of our Lord and their assurance that He had entered upon His heavenly dominion, the disciples dropped into both thinking and speaking of Him from the point of view of His humanity. This involves the assumptions that ἐφίλει is here employed from Mary Magdalene's standpoint, or at least from the standpoint of the incident described, not from that of the Evangelist, writing after the recovery of faith; and that ἡγάπα was a word of such high significance that it would be inappropriate to use it of a simple man's affection for his friends. We transcribe, however, Woolsey's own exposition of his not very clear meaning: "It was natural that, when the Lord showed Himself again to His disciples, they could not but feel a want of nearness and familiarity which helped them in their earthly intercourse with Him. Until their faith grew and they believed more joyfully in their divine Master, the human sight and presence were supports which sustained them while away from Him. But ἀγαπῶ returns in xxi. 15 and 20, as to the divine Saviour, as soon as the presence of Jesus began to be apprehended again by the help of sight. Faith grew stronger, and the loss of Jesus' presence was an enlargement of the sway of the nobler principle, and was no more felt to be an absence."

⁴² Meyer, E. T. II. p. 367, says: "With ἐφίλει the recollection speaks with more feeling." What he means is apparently that John, recording the events in his Gospel, was at this point suffused with deeper feeling than he ordinarily felt, as the recollection rushed over him of the personal affection which Jesus showed toward him "in the days of His flesh"; and this expressed itself in ἐφίλει.

⁴³ Westcott's actual phraseology is that ἐφίλει here "marks a personal affection."

Perhaps the difficulty we feel in accounting for ἐφίλει at John xx. 2 arises in large part from approaching the question from only one side. We begin with the ἡγάπα of xiii. 23, xix. 26, xxi. 7, 20, and ask why the alteration to ἐφίλει in xx. 2. Let us reverse the question, and ask why ἡγάπα is used in xiii. 23 and its companions. In itself considered, ἐφίλει is altogether in place in xx. 2; this is the proper word to express the love of friendship, however warm. What really needs accounting for is why in the parallel passages ἡγάπα is used instead. It is customary to think at once of the high connotations of ἀγαπᾶν, and to develop, as Woolsey does, the aspects of nobility which may be discovered in Jesus' love for John. It may be easier to say simply that, in the type of Greek employed in the New Testament, ἀγαπᾶν was the current word for love, and was consequently in place whenever love of any kind was spoken of; and that the only thing that is illustrated by the appearance of ἐφίλει in xx. 2 is the emergence on one occasion of the more exact term for the particular variety of love that is here in question. 'Εφίλει might have stood in xiii. 23 and its companions, and ἡγάπα might have stood in xx. 2; in the former case the more specific word would have been used in all the instances, in the latter the more general. We learn from the actual distribution of the usage nothing of the specific meaning of ἀγαπᾶν; but we do learn something of the specific meaning of φιλεῖν. If we demand that a reason shall be rendered for the replacing of the general by the specific term just at xx. 2 and nowhere else, we do not know that a satisfactory answer can be given. We can only say that such an explanation as Meyer's is not without plausibility—that the circumstances he was in the act of narrating flooded John's mind as he wrote with an especially tender reminiscence of his Master's human love for His disciples.

From a passage like John xxi. 15-17 we learn something of the specific meaning of both words. The two words appear here side by side in contrast with one another, with

the inevitable result that what is distinctive of each is thrown into relief. That anyone should doubt that the words are used here in distinctive senses would seem incredible prior to experience. The list of those who have expressed such doubt, however, is neither short nor undistinguished, running as it does from Grotius to Gildersleve.⁴⁴ It is, however, as Moulton and Milligan remark,⁴⁵ "supremely hard in so severely simple a writer as John, to reconcile ourselves to a meaningless use of synonyms, where the point would seem to lie in the identity of the word employed." In point of fact, our Lord does not put to Peter three times over the same question. Altering the question progressively, He drives the probe into Peter's conscience deeper and deeper. On the first occasion Jesus asks him: "Simon, son of John, dost thou ἀγαπᾷς me more than these?"—have you a deeper devotion⁴⁶ to me than the rest of my disciples? In his answer, spoken in deep humility, the repentant Peter avoids all comparison with his fellows, and merely asseverates his personal love for his master: "Assuredly, Lord; thou knowest that I φιλῶ Thee." In His second question, Jesus accordingly omits the comparison, and asks of Peter only whether he himself has the requisite devotion to His person: "He saith to him again, a second time, Simon, son of John, ἀγαπᾷς me?" Again Peter responds in the same humble spirit as before, waiving the question of proper devotion, and asseverating only his personal affection: "Assuredly Lord; Thou knowest that I φιλῶ Thee." Then, the third time, Jesus pushes the probe

⁴⁴ Justin Martyr, 1877, p. 135. Among later writers of the same mind, cf. W. G. Ballantyne, *Bibliotheca Sacra*, July 1889, pp. 524 ff.; John A. Cross, *The Expositor*, 1893, iv, vii, pp. 312 ff.; Max Eberhardt, *Ev. Joh. c. 21: ein exegetische Versuch*, 1897, p. 52; cf. also G. B. Stevens, *The Johannine Theology*, ch. xi.

⁴⁵ As cited, pp. 1 f.

⁴⁶ Roach, on her principle, paraphrases ἀγαπᾷν here, not inaptly: "Do you love Me so that you can surrender your life to My interests?"; and φιλεῖν, in Peter's response: "Yes, Lord, Thou knowest that my heart goes out to Thee and my pleasure is found in Thee." This is, clearly, what was really meant by the terms—however we arrive at it.

to the bottom and demands of Peter with sharp directness and brevity whether he has any real affection for Him: "He saith to him the third time, Simon, son of John, dost thou *φιλεῖς* me?" "And Peter was grieved because He said to him this third time, Dost thou *φιλεῖς* me? and he saith to Him" (omitting this time the asseveration, "Assuredly," because the precise assertion he had to make had been called in question), "Lord, Thou knowest all things; Thou dost see" (surely, surely the Lord must see it!) "that I *φιλῶ* Thee."

Of course there is no question here of our Lord's question, "Dost thou *ἀγαπᾷς* me?" "sounding too cold to Peter," because all the pulses of his heart were beating with earnest affection toward his Lord.⁴⁷ It is "humility and a feeling of unworthiness which leads Peter to choose another expression."⁴⁸ He could not in his heart-broken penitence assert of himself the *ἀγαπᾶν* which he had not illustrated in his acts; but he could not be false to his deep sense of real affection. *Ἀγαπᾶν* and *φιλεῖν* emerge, therefore, as respectively the love of complete devotion and the love (as Meyer phrases it) "of personal heart emotion"; the love of surrendering obedience and the love (as Westcott phrases it) of "personal attachment," "the feeling of natural love." Th. Zahn supposes⁴⁹ that the question of our Lord to Peter had as one of its ends, "bringing him to the consciousness that the love of the Lord which is a mark of a right disciple and the spring of his duty-doing, is not a matter of natural temperament, but a fruit of victory over inborn nature."⁵⁰

⁴⁷ So Trench: so also Henry Burton, *The Expositor*, v, i. p. 462 (1895), who paraphrases *ἀγαπᾶν* here, as the broader and weaker word of the two, by, "Do you care for me?" and represents it as "too cold, too distant for Peter's passionate soul," who asserts that he does not merely "care for" but loves His Lord.

⁴⁸ So rightly Woolsey, as cited.

⁴⁹ Page 684.

⁵⁰ Cf. A. Klöpper. *Zeitschrift für wiss. Theologie*, 1899, 42, p. 363, who supposes the contrast to be between the expression of a natural human inclination (*φιλεῖν*) and the efflux of such a love as might be expressed in Pauline phrase as *ἀγάπη ἐν πνεύματι* (Col. i.8). In gen-

Therefore he supposes Him, avoiding the term which expresses the product of the natural temperament, to ask Peter whether he loved Him in this way; whereas Peter clings to the simple asseveration of his natural personal love to Jesus—until our Lord is driven, in order to prove his heart fully, to challenge that also, and so to compel Peter to face the possibility that even this personal love for his master had failed. Whatever may be said of the details of this exposition, it is certainly sound so far as this: that in this conversation ἀγαπᾶν and φιλεῖν are brought into contrast as in a sense the higher and the lower love—although these terms are somewhat infelicitous and may be misleading; perhaps we would better say, as the love of reverent devotion and the love of emotional attachment. And what is of most importance to observe is that the term which bore in its bosom the implication of reverent devotion had become for the men of the New Testament age the general word for love, while the term which expressed in its native suggestion the love of emotional attachment was in process of passing out of use. It is difficult to overstate the importance of this fact for the ready expression of the new revelation of love which the New Testament brought, in terms of current speech. The term which it was most natural to use of love, and which was in most familiar use among the people for love, was a term of such native connotation that it readily received and intelligibly expressed the new revelation of love.

Three instances alone remain, in which φιλεῖν is used by John, and in these three instances it is used of love in its highest relations. In one of them it expresses the love of Christ's people for Him their divine Saviour (xvi. 27); in another, the love of the Father for His people (xvi. 27); in the last, the love of the Father for His Son (v. 20).

eral he finds the distinction drawn by Schmidt from the classical writers valid for John also. Ἀγαπᾶν is, however, he says, almost always used in the higher, spiritual sense, iii. 35, x. 17, xiv. 21 (of God); xiii. 1, 23. xix. 26, xi. 5 (of Christ); viii. 14, xiii. 34, xiv. 15, 21 (of the disciples).

Here we are scaling the heights, and are discovering that *φιλεῖν* is not too low a word to be applied to the love which God Himself feels, or the love to God's only Son, whether on the part of His people, or even on the part of His Father. It is quite clear that the intrinsic implication of *φιλεῖν* is not low, not to say evil. It is differentiated from *ἀγαπᾶν* fundamentally by the side from which it approaches love and the aspect in which it describes it. It is applicable to all love which can be approached from that side or viewed in that aspect. If it is prevailingly employed in the New Testament of the lower grades of love, that is only because these lower grades of love are more naturally approached from the point of view from which *φιλεῖν* approaches love, and the comparative rarity of its occurrences afforded few opportunities for its application to exercises of love of the higher order. We must bear in mind that *ἀγαπᾶν* is the general term for love in the New Testament, and the use of *φιλεῖν* is in any event exceptional. We could expect it to be employed for manifestations of love such as in their nature *ἀγαπᾶν* would naturally express, only in the few instances in which, for one reason or another, it was desirable to throw up into view the aspect which *φιλεῖν* naturally expresses.

An example is supplied by v. 20: "For the Father *φιλεῖ* the Son and sheweth Him all that He doeth"—the only passage in the New Testament in which the love of the Father to the Son is described otherwise than by *ἀγαπᾶν*. As compared with iii. 35: "The Father *ἀγαπᾷ* the Son and hath given all things into His hand," this passage might, on a surface view, be taken as a mere repetition of that, with a meaningless change in the verb. Such is, however, not the case; the difference in the verbs corresponds with an important difference in the sense conveyed. The thought of iii. 35 is fixed on the greatness of the Son whom the Father honors by His love; in v. 20 it is fixed on the fatherly tenderness with which the Father loves the Son. Zahn very properly comments, therefore: "*Φιλεῖν* was more suit-

able here than the ἀγαπᾶν of the otherwise parallel sentence in iii. 35, because φιλεῖν recalls the natural affection of the human father to his son, or of a friend to a friend, in contrast, say, with the relation of the master to the servant (xv. 13-15)."⁵¹

A similar account may be given of the two instances in xvi. 27: "For the Father Himself loveth you, because ye have loved Me, and have believed that I have come forth from with the Father." This is the only place in the New Testament where God is said to φιλεῖν man—though it would be better to say, His children, for that enters into the case (but see Rev. iii. 19). And this is also the only place where φιλεῖν is used "of the affection of the disciples for their Lord" (yet consult xxi. 17 and 1 Cor. xvi. 22). Horn comments:⁵² "The ὁ πατήρ φιλεῖ ὑμᾶς of xvi. 27 has a different meaning from iii. 16: οὕτως γὰρ ἡγάπησεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν κόσμον. The latter is pitying love to the as yet unredeemed world, alien to God; the former is the natural pleasure of the Father in His believers, approved as faithful."⁵³ He adds in a note: "ἀγαπᾶν could, of course, stand here, as in the similar passage, xvii. 23 'in order that the world may know that Thou didst send me and didst love them even as Thou didst love me'; but the sense would not be precisely the same." What the difference in the sense of the two passages is, Horn does not tell us—although that is the particular point under discussion. Commenting on xvii. 23, he says, indeed: "In xvii. 23 the love of *the Father to the disciples* is spoken of as ἀγαπᾶν, since it belongs to them (*cf.* 20) because of their faith in

⁵¹ Cf. Horn, as cited, p. 170: "Φιλεῖν stands very suitably at v. 20: 'The Father loves the Son and shows Him all that He Himself does.' For here the more intimate relation of the filial relation of the Son to the Father is suggested, and at the same time, it is thought of as one wholly natural, resting on elective affinity. The Son 'can' nothing of Himself."

⁵² As cited, p. 170.

⁵³ This is in effect the love of benevolence in distinction from the love of complacency. Compare note 34.

Jesus." If that, however, would require ἀγαπᾶν to be used, it surely would have been used in both passages. And it looks as if φιλεῖν as the expression of the love of affinities would be equally appropriate in both passages. Perhaps it is enough to say that ἀγαπᾶν is used as a matter of course in xvii. 23, as the general word for love in common use—it needs no accounting for; while φιλεῖν in xv. 27 is used to emphasize the affinity between God and His believers.

The abstract substantive connected with φιλεῖν—φιλία—occurs only a single time in the New Testament, Jas. iv. 4, where we read the arraignment: "Adulteresses! know ye not that the φιλία of the world is enmity with God?" It is customary to render φιλία here by "friendship," a course which the φίλος of the next clause makes especially convenient. But it may be well to guard against attributing to it too specific a notion. The implication is that of finding one's pleasure, satisfaction, in the world, with a suggestion that by this one's affinity with the world is betrayed. The notion is similar to that expressed in John xv. 19: "If ye were of the world, the world would love its own"—for φιλία intimates mutual affection. To be at friends with the world is to love and to be loved by the world, to be bound by mutual ties to it. Ἀγαπᾶν would scarcely have expressed so much.

It may fairly be claimed that a survey of the passages in which φιλεῖν, φιλία occur leaves an impression of the naturalness of their use in these cases. But what should be kept ever fresh in mind is that the employment of them is highly exceptional, and rests on a background of a very copious use of ἀγαπᾶν, ἀγάπη—chiefly to express the great conceptions of love which permeate the Christian revelation. The equipment of the New Testament to express the idea of love consists, thus, in the possession in ἀγαπᾶν, ἀγάπη, of a high general term the native suggestion of which was a worthy one, and which had already been trained by the writers of the Septuagint to receive the great conceptions of revealed religion; and the possession by its side, of a

subsidiary term by which, when occasion offered, a special aspect of love could be thrown into view—that aspect, to wit, in which love appears as the response of the soul to the perception of something which pleases it, is congenial to it, in the object. This is, to be sure, not as rich an equipment as was possessed by the Greek of the classical writers. It possessed four terms, *φιλεῖν*, *φιλία*; *ἐρᾶν*, *ἔρως*; *στέργειν*, *στοργή*; *ἀγαπᾶν*, *ἀγάπησις*. But the comparative poverty of its terminology is offset in the case of the New Testament by the intrinsic superiority of its general term for love, *ἀγαπᾶν*, and by the higher content which it had acquired by its employment to express the conceptions of love embodied in the divine revelation. We must guard also against supposing that the resources for its expression of loving activities were absolutely exhausted by these, its direct vehicles. There were other terms which it might call to its aid when it wished to speak of love in one or another of its active exercises. There were such terms, for example, as *οἰκτεῖρω*, *ἐλεέω*, *σπλαγχνίζομαι*, with their accompanying substantives, and above all there was *χάρις*. As it was this aspect of love—love in gracious action—that the New Testament writers had most occasion to celebrate, their vocabulary was not quite so restricted as it sounds, when we say that only *ἀγαπᾶν*, *ἀγάπη*, with an exceptional use of *φιλεῖν*, *φιλία*, lay at their disposal.

It does not fall within our present purpose, however, to discuss the number and variety, or the nature and use, of such a subsidiary vocabulary. Let it only be further noted that compounds in *φιλ-* are in the New Testament, as in the Greek literature of all ages, numerous,⁵⁴ and that some of these compounds were significant, on one side or another, for the expression of love. We may mention, for example, such as *φιλαδέλφια* (five times), *φιλάδελφος* (once), *φίλανδρος* (once), *φιλανθρωπία* (twice), *φιλανθρώπος* (once),

⁵⁴ Add to those mentioned in the text: *φιλάγαθος*, *φιλαργυρία*, *φιλάργυρος*, *φιλήδονος*, *φιλονεικία*, *φιλόνεικος*, *φιλοπρωτεύω*, *φιλοσοφία*, *φιλόσοφος*, *φιλοτιμέομαι*, *φιλοφρόνως*, *φιλόφρων*.

φιλόθεος (once), φιλοξενία (twice), φιλόξενος (three times), φιλόστοργος⁵⁵ (once), φιλοτέκνος (once). By the aid of such forms a number of modifications of the idea of love are given expression. After all said, however, it is not the variety of the vehicles for the expression of love for which the New Testament is notable, but the depth and height of the conception of love which it is able to express through its fundamental terms, ἀγαπᾶν and ἀγάπη. The great fact which comes to view is that, in the providence of God, the noblest word which the Greek language afforded for the expression of love came into its hands as the natural term for it to use to express its conception of love, and that, as already trained to express love at the height of its conception by its use for that purpose in the Septuagint version of the Old Testament.⁵⁶

⁵⁵ Consult on φιλόστοργος in the New Testament, E. Hoehne, *Zeitschrift f. k. Wissenschaft und k. Leben*, 1882 (III.) p. 6.

⁵⁶ *Literature*.—J. H. Heinrich Schmidt, *Synonymik der griechischen Sprache*, III. 1879, pp. 474-491 (= § 136: on ἐρᾶν, φιλεῖν, στέργειν, ἀγαπᾶν). Edward Meredith Cope, on στοργή, ἔρως, φιλεῖν, ἀγαπᾶν, in *The Rhetoric of Aristotle, with a Commentary*, 1877. vol. II pp. 292-296 (printed also in the *Journal of Philology*, vol. I. No. 1 (1868), pp. 88-93). J. B. Lightfoot, in *The Cambridge Journal of Classical and Sacred Philology*, vol. III. (1857), No. 7, pp. 92 ff. (see also Lightfoot's comment on Ignatius, *Rom.* vii. p. 222). R. C. Trench, *Synonyms of the New Testament*, 9th ed., 1880, xii, on ἀγαπαῶ, φιλέω. J. A. H. Tittmann, *New Testament Synonyms*, E. T. in *The Biblical Cabinet* vol. III. 1833, pp. 90-97. Hermann Cremer, *Biblisch-theologisches Wörterbuch der Neutestamentlichen Gräcität*, 10th ed., 1915, *sub voc.* E. Buoniauti, "I vocabuli d'amor nel Nuovo Testamento," in the *Revista Storico-critica di Scienze Theoliche*. vol. v. 1908, pp. 257-264. E. Höhne, "Zum Neutestamentliche Sprachgebrauch: I. Ἀγαπᾶν, φιλεῖν, σπλαγχνίζεσθαι," in Luthardt's *Zeitschrift für k. Wissenschaft und k. Leben*, III. 1882, pp. 6-19. K. A. G. von Zezschwitz, *Profangrätigkeit und biblischer Sprachgeist*, 1859, p. 63. W. G. Ballantyne, "Lovest Thou Me?" in *Bibliotheca Sacra*, July 1889, vol. xlv. pp. 524-542. Sallie Niel Roach, "Love in Its Relation to Service," in *The Review and Expositor*, 1913, vol. x. pp. 531-553. T. D. Woolsey, "The Disciple Whom Jesus Loved," in *The Andover Review*, iv. 1885, August, pp. 163-185. G. Deissmann, *Bible Studies*, E. T. 1901, pp. 198 ff. W. Ramsay, *The Expository Times*, ix. 568. Fr. Vermeil, *Étude sur le 21, Chap. de l'Évang. selon S. Jean*, 1861. John A. Cross, "On St. John xxi. 15-17," in *The Expositor*, iv. vii., 1893, pp. 312-320.

Henry Burton, "The Breakfast on the Shore," in *The Expositor*, v. 1. 1895, pp. 450-472. A. Klöpper, "Das 21. Kap. des 4. Evang. erläutert," in *Zeitschrift für wiss. Theologie*, 1599, pp. 337-381. Max Eberhardt, *Evang. Joh. c. 21; ein exeget. Versuch*, 1897. K. Horn, *Abfassung, Geschichtlichkeit und Zweck von Evang. des Johannes, Kap. 21.*, 1904, pp. 167-171. R. H. Strachan, "The Appendix to the Fourth Gospel," in *The Expositor*, viii. vii. 1914, pp. 263 ff.

Princeton.

BENJAMIN B. WARFIELD.

THE SANCTUARY OF ISRAEL AT SHILOH

The sanctuary of Jehovah which stood in the town of Shiloh in the days of Eli and Samuel owed its origin to Moses. Upon this fact the three co-existing schools of biblical criticism are agreed, that of Wellhausen, that of Ewald, and that school which regards the biblical account of the rise of Israel's institutions as trustworthy. And upon many of the circumstances that attended the founding and later travels of the sanctuary there is agreement. The critical schools acknowledge and accept as historical among other events the bondage in Egypt of "that section of the Hebrew group which afterwards developed into Israel,"¹ consisting of "a number of kindred clans,"² their exodus under the leadership of Moses at a time when Egypt was scourged by a grievous plague, their deliverance through a marvellous occurrence at the Red Sea, their visit to Sinai, their settlement at Kadesh, and their residence of many years in the wild pasture lands that lie round about Kadesh and stretch for miles in every direction.³ Moses was the supreme judge, "the great national 'Kadhi' in the wilderness"; and he was also the founder of the sanctuary which "was with the so-called ark of the covenant," the latter object being a "symbol of Jehovah's presence." This sanctuary of the ark was taken by the people with them into Canaan, and after a time was established at Shiloh; the ark was there, and priests of the same line that had ministered at the sanctuary in the wilderness continued in charge.⁴

¹ This quotation and the statements that follow in the paragraph are taken from Wellhausen, *History of Israel*, pp. 430-435, 441, and 142.

² Wellhausen limits the number to seven. "Israel at first consisted of seven tribes," not including as yet Dan and Naphtali, Gad and Asher, and Benjamin (p. 432).

³ According to Wellhausen, at Kadesh "they remained for many years, having at the well of Kadesh their sanctuary and judgment-seat only, while with their flocks they ranged over an extensive tract" (p. 430). Moses exercised "his judicial functions . . . in the name of Jehovah. By connecting them with the sanctuary . . . he made these functions independent of his person" (p. 434).

⁴ See *infra*, footnote 32.

It was no novelty in the time of Moses for a traveling host to use a portable sanctuary. While the children of Israel were still in Egypt Ramses II carried religious emblems with him on his campaign against the Cheta; and at the headquarters of the camp, within the royal enclosure, in a pavilion of some sort, men offered adoration and supplication before a symbol of divine royalty.⁵ At a later period the Assyrian kings had with them on their military expeditions emblems of deity and furniture wherewith they were able to improvise formal ritual service under the open sky with priest and altar and incense and image.⁶ In a camp of the

⁵ In the camp of Ramses II at Kadesh on the Orontes the royal quarters occupied a rectangular enclosure near the center. In the scene as carved on the pylon at Luxor a pavilion is pictured within the enclosure which is thought to be the royal tent (Breasted, *The Battle of Kadesh* p. 42; comp. his *Ancient Records*, iii. 148 f; on the contrary, see Murray's *Handbook for Egypt*,¹⁰ p. 389), while in the carving on the walls of the temple at Abu Simbel an act of worship is delineated within the enclosure, and probably in a chamber of the pavilion. Five men kneel before a canopy with their arms outstretched toward a symbol of royal presence divine, guarded by the hawk figures (see Champollion, *Monuments de l'Égypte et de la Nubie*, tome I. pl. xxx; smaller reproductions are conveniently accessible in Rawlinson, *History of Ancient Egypt*, chap. xi. p. 476; Budge, *A History of Egypt*, v. 49, comp. ii. 18 f; Breasted, *The Battle of Kadesh*, pl. vi, facing p. 40).

⁶ In Assyria, just as the throne and other furnishings for the king were carried on military expeditions for use at official functions, so an equipment suitable for sacrificial worship was taken along on the campaign. An act of sacrificial worship is depicted with considerable completeness in a sculpture of Ashurnazirpal's, 884-858 B.C. (see sketch in Rawlinson, *The Seven Great Monarchies*, Vol. I. pl. cxliv; described in chap. viii. p. 363; reproduced by Jastrow, *Bildermappe zur Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens*, Abbildung 89; comp. 226; see also *British Museum: Guide to the Kouyunjik Gallery*, 1883, No. 62, p. 115). The king is offering sacrifice before a god seated within a temple. In front of the building are an altar, a tall, tapering fire-stand from the top of which out of a dish issue flames, and a large bowl on a low stool; then, facing these, the king in the act of pouring a libation, behind him an attendant with a cup, and lastly men bringing forward an ox for sacrifice. Certain of these objects, and in the same sequence, appear in the Assyrian camp and elsewhere during military expeditions. Standards, which contained symbols of gods, were set up on the ground (Botta, *Monument de Ninive*, tome II. pl. 146, described tome V. 163; *Bronze Reliefs from the Gates of Shalmaneser*, edited by L. W. King, plates I

Carthaginians, centuries indeed after the time of Moses, was a sacred tent with an altar hard by.⁷ Likewise the sanctuary established by Moses in the wilderness was portable, being a tent as is attested by the earliest historical records of the Israelites (Ex. xxxiii. 7, E, the provisional tent of meeting: Num. xi. 16, 24, later E; Deut. xxxi. 14, 15 E).⁸

There was more to the tent than mere curtains stretched to form a roof and afford shelter from sun and rain. According to the description of the tabernacle given in the book of Exodus at least, beneath the great awning erected by Moses was a room, forty-five feet long and fifteen feet wide. Three sides of this apartment were formed of boards set upright on end. The fourth side, which was the eastern end and front of the tabernacle and its entrance, consisted of a row of five pillars, standing about two feet and a half apart and supporting curtains. The room itself, thus enclosed, was divided into two chambers, separated from each other by a curtain, the inner of the two being the smaller, only one-half the size of the outer. In these main features the description of the tabernacle erected by Moses in the wilderness is corroborated by three facts:

and II), or else a chariot to which they were attached was drawn up (Layard, *Monuments of Nineveh*, second series, pls. 24 and 50, comp. 36; Jastrow, *Bildermappe zur Religion Babylonien und Assyrien*, Abbild. 99). Before them was placed the portable altar and the tall fire-stand, and last of all, facing the sacred objects, the officiating priests or the offerer himself. Thus, as depicted in the bronze relief on the gates of Shalmaneser, at the dedication of his image which was carved in the face of the rock near lake Van, in the open field before the image and its encircling divine symbols have been placed two standards, an altar for offerings, a tall fire-stand, and a bowl. The king is pouring out a libation. He is accompanied by two priests bearing offerings of wine, and by three musicians, followed by soldiers driving up oxen and rams for sacrifice. The elucidating inscription states: "I set up an image [of my person, and inscribed on it the glory of Ashur and my exploits (cp. Monolith col. I. 26 f, II. 59 f.)] on the shore of the sea of Nairi; I made offerings to my gods."

⁷ Diodorus Siculus, 20:65.

⁸ "Some kind of a tent for the ark there may well have been" (Wellhausen, *Prolegomena*,³ S. 40, English p. 39). "The institution of the ark as well as the erection of the tent must have been narrated between [Ex.] xxxiii. 6 and 7" (*ibid.*, S. 387, p. 370).

1. The correspondence of the structure of this sanctuary with the possibilities of the desert; for the materials required for a simple tent of this sort were obtainable in the wilderness where the Israelites were encamped. From their flocks could be gotten the goats' hair for the women to weave into the cloth which was needed for making the roof; from the flocks too could be gotten the skins of rams, and at the seashore the skins of porpoise, to be thrown over the tent as an outer covering, the better to protect the cloth-roofing from the severity of the weather;⁹ and boards and posts could be had for the mere labor of swinging the ax and hewing a few acacia trees in that unowned region. It is of the sanctuary as a tent that we are now speaking, not of its embellishment. But it is worth noting that the passages which expressly or in current critical theory¹⁰ describe the construction of the ark and the tabernacle agree in telling how the people gave their personal ornaments, in particular their brooches, their ear-rings, finger-rings and armlets of gold, together with silver and brass and precious stones, for use in worthily furnishing Jehovah's abode.

2. Not only were the materials for the tent readily obtainable by the Israelites while sojourning in the wilderness, but in the second place confirmation is afforded by the correspondence with the tent of importance in an encampment of the Bedouin, the Arabs of the desert, nomads of Arabia, Syria and Egypt, in their customs inheritors of by-gone ages. The dwelling of the Arab sheik, the head of the tribe, is a spacious tent, conspicuous by reason of its largeness and sumptuousness in the midst of the ruder tents of his subordinates. Its roof-covering is made of strips of black cloth, woven by the women from goats' hair and stitched together

⁹ When on a campaign the Romans covered their tents with the skins of animals. Hence *sub pellibus hiemare*, Livy 5, 2. 37, 39. Caesar, *bell. gall.* 3, 29 and *bell. civ.* 3, 13. Tacitus *ann.* 13, 15. Cicero *acad.* 4, 2 (Dillmann, *Exodus und Leviticus*,³ S. 321).

¹⁰ Ex. xxxiii. 6 E, xxv. 21 f, 24, 27 P. See Kittel, *Geschichte der Hebräer*, i. 215. Ex. xxxiii. 6 E is elucidated by Ex. iii. 22, xi. 2, xii. 35, xxxii. 2, all E, and further by Gen. xxiv. 22, 53 and xxxviii. 18 J.

along the sides. Upheld by three rows of poles, it is kept firm by cords stretched to pins driven in the ground. Underneath the shelter of these protecting curtains is an enclosed room, the sides of which are made of cloth of goats' hair or mats of rushes or split reed, and the apartment itself is divided into two chambers by a curtain drawn across the tent and fastened to the middle row of posts. Of these chambers one is the men's room; at its side, not behind it, is the women's apartment. The public entrance is in the long side of the tent, into the men's apartment. By shifting the curtain from one side of the tent to the other the entrance may be changed so as always to be away from the wind or the blazing sun. To secure this protection from the weather it has been found convenient to place the two chambers side by side rather than front and rear. Such is the tent of the Semites of the wilderness today.¹¹ It is an inheritance from ages long past, as is sufficiently attested by the Hebrew writings.¹² Thus as described in the book of Exodus, and as was quite natural in itself, the tabernacle erected by Moses in the wilderness was the ordinary tent of the desert adapted to sacred use.

3. The third corroborating fact is the correspondence between the plan of this better class of tent and the common type of sanctuary to which Moses and the Israelites in Egypt were accustomed. Of course even in Egypt there were occasionally slight deviations from the type; as, for example, when instead of one chamber for deity there were three side by side, a shrine being built at each side of the shrine of the principal god, one for the consort and the other for

¹¹ Prime sources are Burckhardt, *Notes on the Bedouins and Wahabys*, cited by Theodore F. Wright, "Was the Tabernacle Oriental?" in *Journal of Biblical Literature*, 1899, xviii. 195-198, and comp. *Quarterly Statement, Palestine Exploration Fund*, 1897, pp. 225 f; Doughty, *Arabia Deserta*, i. 224 ff; William Ewing, article "Tent" in *Hastings' Dictionary of the Bible*.

¹² An awning made of curtains, i.e. strips (Is. liv. 2) of black cloth (Song i. 5), woven by the women (2 Kin. xxiii. 7), from goats' hair (cp. 1 Sam. xix. 13), stayed by cords stretched to pins (Judg. iv. 21, Is. xxxiii. 20, liv. 2); and curtains hanging underneath (Jer. x. 20).

their child, and thus the holiest place of all was tripartite instead of being single. But the normal type of temple, already splendidly exhibited in the days of Moses at the great centers of Egyptian civilization and worship, consisted of a holy house of small size, usually two or three times as long as it was wide; and when divided into separate chambers, the innermost room was the place the most sacred of all. Here in solitary regal dignity stood the image of the god or the shrine in which he dwelt. This holy house was surrounded by a courtyard. The yard itself was enclosed by a wall, and was set apart for the officiating priests. Access to these sacred precincts was through a great portal. In front of this gate the worshippers assembled and through it they beheld the doors of the holy dwelling and at times caught a glimpse of its secret recesses.¹³

Viewed from the standpoint of archaeology, therefore, the tabernacle in its general outline as described in the book of Exodus was appropriate to the times of Moses. It conformed to a practice of migrating men in that day. Its materials were obtainable in the wilderness. It satisfied the religious needs of the people as felt in those days. To the stranger of that age it was not altogether foreign in its plan and form, but it spoke to him in language intelligible and told him much of Israel's doctrine of Jehovah.

¹³ The correspondence between the ground-plan of Egyptian temples and that of the tabernacle of the Israelites is often very close. To cite only temples built by Ramses II or his predecessors, in that of Seti I on the western bank of the river at Thebes the holy room is divided into three sections; and its length, measured from its rear wall to the entrance, is three fifths of the width of the court in which it stands. The length of the court itself from the rear wall to the colonnade, the original plan of the edifice, is double the width. In the ancient temple of Hathor at Dendera, the Hathor chamber was square, and the outer chamber was twice as long as broad. A passage way separated the two chambers, whereas in Israel's tabernacle it was only a vail which divided the holy of holies from the holy place. These two chambers at Dendera stood in a court twice as long as broad, and the combined length of the two chambers bore the same relation to the length and breadth of the courtyard as the length of the tabernacle bore to the length and breadth of its court.

After the conquest of Canaan the sanctuary of the ark was established at Shiloh, and continued to be served by priests of the lineage of Aaron. The town of Shiloh, where the sanctuary founded by Moses was now established, was built on the top of an isolated hill, in the very center of the land of Israel, almost exactly midway between the northern and southern boundaries, between the river Litany on the north and the wady el-Fikreh on the south, about ninety miles from each. The place lay just aside from the natural and actual route of travel from Galilee and Jezreel and Shechem on the north to Beth-el, Jerusalem, Hebron, and Beer-sheba on the south (cp. Judg. xxi. 19), and was accessible from the Jordan valley and from the Mediterranean coast by ravines and defiles through the mountains. The hill, on which Shiloh stood, rises from the midst of a fertile plain bordered by the mountains. Access to the town was had at its southern end only, by a road leading up the one gradual ascent from the plain.¹⁴ But where was the site of the sanctuary? At the northern end of the summit, and immediately adjoining the ruins of the town, is a remarkable terrace.¹⁵ It is a rectangle, about four hundred and twelve feet long and seventy-seven feet wide, and lies east and west. There are traces of a wall along the sides. This terrace satisfies the requirements of all references to the sanctuary in the records, older and later (e.g., Ex. xxvii. 9-13 and 18); and it explains at once certain statements that have always perplexed expositors of the books of Samuel; namely these, the ark of God had been taken to the field of battle where

¹⁴ Survey of Western Palestine: Memoirs ii. 367-370.

¹⁵ The terrace was pointed out, and was suggested as the site of the sanctuary, by Major Charles W. Wilson (*Palestine Exploration Fund, Quarterly Statement*, 1873, p. 37 f). The suggestion has been received with favor, but not adopted as a certainty, by Dr. Immanuel Benzinger (*Baedeker's Palästina und Syrien*,⁶ 1894, p. 188; English translation,² 1894), Father Barnabas Meisermann (*New Guide to the Holy Land*, English translation, 1907, p. 340), Rev. William Ewing, D.D. (*International Standard Bible Encyclopaedia*, 1915, p. 2769; see also *Temple Dictionary of the Bible*, 1910), each of whom has intimate acquaintance with the land, due to long residence and study in Palestine.

the army of Israel faced the hosts of the Philistines, and Eli was sitting upon the seat at the gate anxiously waiting for news (1 Sam. iv. 18, also verse 13, and Antiq. v. 11, 3).¹⁶ The field of conflict was about fifteen miles to the south of Shiloh; and the fugitive bringing word of the defeat of Israel reached the town and announced the dread tidings before he came to Eli. These facts raise a strong presumption that the gate at which the aged high priest sat was at the northern end of the town and was the gate giving access from the town to the courtyard of the sanctuary. Eli had not left the sacred precincts. But whether the terrace is the real site of the tabernacle or not, the essential thing is that the priest at Shiloh was reached by the messenger from the south after he had entered the town. Consequently the gate at which Eli sat was not the town gate through which the only road that ascended the hill passed.

Seeing that the ark had been taken to Shiloh and established

¹⁶ The Septuagint and Targum presuppose the word gate in the text of 1 Sam. iv. 13. Eli occupied a seat "at the side of the gate watching the road" (Septuagint; comp. the phraseology, 2 Sam. xviii. 4) or "at the side of the way of the gate watching" (Targum; comp. 2 Sam. xv. 2). Driver and Löhr do not decide between the two readings. The Septuagint is thought to represent the original Hebrew text by Thénius, Wellhausen, Kittel, H. P. Smith, Budde, Nowack.

The least emendation of the Hebrew text is required when the reading of the Targum is followed, which indicates that the word *hassha'ar* only has been lost from the Hebrew. The emendation based on the Septuagint involves much greater change; not only the insertion of *hassha'ar*, but also the prefixing of the definite article to *derek* and the transposition of *hadderek* with *mitsappeh*.

The word *derek* may, of course, in this passage denote "the road" to Shiloh or more particularly, to the sanctuary, or else "the way [within the walls of Shiloh] to the gate" of the town or of the sacred inclosure (cp. 2 Kin. xi. 19, xxv 4, Ezek. xlii. 11, 12).

The expression "watched the way" is found in Nah. ii. 2 also. The statement that Eli was sitting on the seat "at the side of the way to the gate watching" is paralleled by Jer. xlviii. 19, "stand by the way and watch; ask him that fleeth and her that escapeth; say, What hath been done?" See also Ps. v. 4, where again the verb is used without a direct object. The context determines whether one is awaiting an answer to prayer, or news, or the return of an object. There is no contradiction in this with verse 15 and iii. 2.

there, and that priests of Aaron's line ministered there, it is probable¹⁷ that the tent which housed the ark had also been taken there. In fact, if reliance may be placed in the genuineness of a statement which forms part of a verse in the narrative of Eli's judgeship (1 Sam ii. 22, latter half)—and the only substantial reason for questioning the brief passage at all is its absence from one of the chief texts of the Greek version (it is found in the other great texts and was known to Josephus also)¹⁸—then the sanctuary at Shiloh still bore the old name tent of meeting.

¹⁷ Probable even without the notice in Josh. xviii. 1 P.

In the narrative that immediately follows as the text now stands, Joshua is present at Shiloh in his official capacity and there casts lots before Jehovah in order to divide the undistributed portion of the land. Dillmann, who assigns Josh. xviii. 8-10 to E rather than to J, suggests that since the phrase "to the camp at Shiloh" is lacking in verse 9 in the Septuagint [text B; but it is found in Lucian's text, and "to Shiloh" is in A], therefore in verse 9 the word Shiloh is possibly a harmonistical insertion in conformity to verse 1, P; and perhaps also in verse 8, where the emphatic position of the word "here" at the beginning is surprising; and in verse 10 (*Numeri, Deuteronomium und Josua*, 2te Aufl. S. 550 and 625.) Steuernagel, too, who assigns the verses to D², questions every mention of Shiloh in them, arguing that the phrase "in Shiloh" in verse 8 is "perhaps an addition of the Redactor's in accordance with verse 1," on the ground that the place where the allotment is to be made, is doubly stated, by the words "here" and "in Shiloh," which is surprising since the two statements are separated, one being at the beginning and the other at the end of the verse thus: "Here will I cast lots for you before Jehovah in Shiloh" (*Deuteronomium und Josua* in Nowack's *Handkommentar*, S. 222, and 137 and 221). The argument is invalid. The same phenomenon is met with in 1 Sam. xi. 15, a passage assigned to J and of unquestioned integrity: "The people went to Gilgal; and they made king there Saul before Jehovah in Gilgal."

Wellhausen regards Josh. xviii. 2-10 as a Jehovistic passage, according to which the land was allotted to the remaining tribes "von Silo oder vielleicht ursprünglich von Sichem aus;" "siehe die charakteristische Korrektur der Sept. zu xxiv. 1, 25" (*Prolegomena*,³ S. 374; *Composition des Hexateuchs*, 3te Aufl. S. 129). Kittel follows Wellhausen, except that he assigns verses 2-6, 8-10 to E (*Geschichte der Hebräer*, § 29, S. 281, and 280 Anm. 4) In the Hebrew text published by Bennett (*Sacred Books of the Old Testament: The Book of Joshua*), and in that by Driver (*Biblia Hebraica*, edited by Kittel), Shiloh is retained in verses 8-10.

¹⁸ According to Wellhausen the latter half of verse 22 is an inter-

It had, of course, undergone changes in the lapse of many years since Moses' day. The weather had done its work. Sun and wind, rain, dew and frost, had made inroads on the exposed haircloth and leather. The old and weather-beaten curtains of the roof had been torn and sewed up, and patched

polation, lacking in the Septuagint (*Prolegomena*,³ S. 43, Anm. 1, *Composition des Hexateuchs*,³ S. 238). To quote Driver, "the entire clause . . . is not found in LXX, and is probably not part of the original text (the context speaks of a *hêkal* with *doors*, not of an *'ohel*: i. 9, iii. 3, 15)" (*Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Books of Samuel*, p. 26, 2nd edition p. 33). The clause is lacking, it is true, in the text B of the Septuagint; but it is found in those of A and Lucian, and it was known to Josephus also (*Antiq.* v. 10, 1). Kittel notes the fact of its absence from the text B, and indicates that in his judgment it is "probably an addition" in the Hebrew (*Biblia hebraica*; comp. Budde, *The Books of Samuel: Critical Edition of the Hebrew Text*, p. 54). Apropos of the doors, the word *pethah*, opening, in verse 22, is used either for the entrance of a tent or for the entrance to a building of wood or stone. If the doors mentioned in iii 15, comp. i. 9, belonged to the holy house itself, and not to the gate of the enclosure, it is easy to understand how in a permanent tent with an entrance opening directly into an apartment, especially into one having side and rear walls of boards, doors could advantageously be used in place of a curtain. Nowack, amplifying Löhr's statement, declares the clause to be "ein später nach Ex. 38:8 gemachter Zusatz; der hier berichtete Frevel ist ganz anderer Art als der oben v. 13 ff. ausgesprochene Tadel, und während sonst immer in c. 1—3 das Heiligtum zu Silo *hêkal* heisst, erscheint hier *'ohel môed*, der term. bei P für die Stiftshütte" (*Handkommentar*; comp. Löhr's edition of Thenius, *Die Bücher Samuels*). The name "tent of meeting" is, however, older than P (Ex. xxxiii. 7 E).

H. P. Smith adds to the foregoing that "the whole narrative, except in this verse, is ignorant of *women who ministered*" (*International Critical Commentary: Samuel*, p. 20). The matter, it may be remarked, did not call for frequent mention, and the allusions to it are merely incidental. But there was custom for it. Women filled honorable posts at Egyptian temples and had an official function, albeit a minor one, to perform in the cult; and in Israel idolatrous women wove tents in the house of Jehovah for the goddess Asherah, whose rites were conducted there; so that, even apart from the incidental allusion, it is not improbable that the custom was followed at Shiloh, and women rendered useful service at the sanctuary of Jehovah. There was work for women to do which might be done at the entrance to the sacred precincts, whither men and women brought their offerings and those undergoing cleansing were placed (Lev. i. 3, xii. 6, xiv. 11). There was the work of grinding meal and baking cakes and loaves for the stated offerings, of spinning and weaving for the maintenance of the sanc-

and repatched. Entire curtains had been replaced, until the whole outside covering perhaps had been renewed. The curious might at length inquire, as teachers of logic are wont to ask regarding the ship of Delos or the knife that received new blades and new handle and new spring, whether the tent of cloth and skins that covered the sanctuary at Shiloh was the same that Moses had erected in the wilderness. There were probably other changes besides those necessitated by wear and tear: for the sanctuary was no longer intended to be moved from place to place with a migrating host, but had a fixed abode at Shiloh in the midst of a settled people who had given up their tent-dwellings for houses of sun-dried brick or stone. Hence probably changes would be made in the outward form of the sanctuary to meet the changed

tuary and its ritual, of making the holy garments, and on occasion of playing on timbrels and singing (comp. Ex. xv. 20, 21, Ps. lxxviii. 26, English 25). All this was woman's work.

Gray pronounces 1 Sam. i. 22 b. "a late gloss." In commenting on Num. iv. 3, he says: "The same word (*tsaba*) is used in both chapters [i and iv], though RV. here renders by 'service,' there by 'war.' Originally the word had reference to war: its use of menial service about the tabernacle or temple is late. . . . It is one of several interesting instances in which terms originating in the early and more warlike periods of Hebrew history, and retaining their military reference down to the close of the monarchy, took on after the Exile a fresh meaning, in consequence of the change from a national society under a monarchy to a religious community under a hierarchy" (*International Critical Commentary: Numbers*, pp. 32, 36). But why "after the exile" in this instance? The use of the word in 1 Sam. ii. 22 for service at the sanctuary may antedate its use in this sense by P, since according to critical theory it is here in a context assigned to E,² "prior to 650 B.C." And according to the school of Ewald the word was in common use for service in war or at the temple in literature produced during the early monarchy, in the "time of Solomon, after the erection of the temple" (Ewald, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*,³ I. 113 ff), or "± 800 B.C.; so already Nöldeke 138 ff and JPTTh. I. 343 ff" (Dillmann, *Numeri, Deuteronomium und Josua*,² S. 666). After all, the fundamental question is: How came it that service at the sanctuary of Jehovah was called by a word used of military service? Was it because service was rendered to "Jehovah of armies" (1 Sam. i. 3, iv. 4, xvii. 45), to "Jehovah, a man of war" (Ex. xv. 3), and because Israel formed "the armies of Jehovah" (xii. 41 P) and fought the "Wars of Jehovah" (Num. xxi. 14)?

conditions.¹⁹ It need cause no surprise, if the courtyard about the tabernacle had come to be surrounded by a wall of stone. There is no explicit statement that it was, but the suggestion of such a wall is found in the narrative, in the reference to the gate (1 Sam. iv, 13, 18), for the gate cannot mean the door of the tabernacle nor the gate of the town. Quite probably also the curtain which closed the entrance of the tent had been replaced by doors swinging between the pillars.²⁰ Indeed, now that the permanent location of the sanctuary at Shiloh permitted their use, since there was no longer the frequent transport to be burdened by them, doors were almost a necessity. They would afford the sacred chambers of the sanctuary a better protection against wind and rain than the curtain or flap of the nomad's tent.

There may have been still other changes,²¹ but notwith-

¹⁹ For although the tradition was fondly cherished that Moses had been directed to build the tabernacle in exact conformity to the model showed him in the mount (Ex. xxv. 9, 40 P, Acts vii. 44, Heb. viii. 5); it was not regarded as sacrilegious to make alterations in the size and structure and furnishings and service of the sanctuary as time went on and conditions changed. Historically changes were made both in the sanctuary and in its worship, and even in the most sacred annual festival, evidently with the full consent and sanction of the religious authorities.

²⁰ This is a reasonable conjecture even if the doors of the house of God which the boy Samuel in the performance of his regular duties used to open in the morning and the doorpost of the temple by which Eli sat were not the doorpost and doors of the tent itself, but were post and doors of the main gate which opened into the courtyard and gave access to the sacred precincts from the world outside. The usage of the designations house of God and temple throughout the Scriptures permits the latter interpretation, since the terms are comprehensive at times and include the entire complex of buildings and courts (Brown, *Hebrew and English Lexicon*, p. 228). See footnote 18.

²¹ A passage is often quoted from the Mishna to the effect that the sanctuary at Shiloh was "a structure of low stone walls with the tent drawn over the top" (e.g. Stanley, *Sinai and Palestine*, p. 299). With its context, the passage is as follows: Before the erection of the tabernacle (*mishkan*) the high places [i.e. the local altars], were permitted and the service was performed by the first born; but after its erection, the high places were forbidden and the service was performed by the priests. Most holy offerings were eaten within the hangings [i.e. in the court of the tabernacle] (Ex. xxvii. 9, xxxv. 17; and Lev. vi. 9,

standing them all the sanctuary at Shiloh was still a tent. For in David's day men knew that from the date of the exodus of the Israelites from Egypt until then Jehovah had dwelt "in a tent and in a tabernacle," at least characteristically and customarily, and not in "a house of cedar" (2 Sam. vii. 6, 7).²² And David himself, the mighty king, with

Eng. 16, x. 12 f)], and less holy offerings anywhere in the camp of Israel (Tract *Zebachim*, xiv. 4.) "They came to Shiloh, the high places were forbidden. There was not a roofed building there, but a house of stone below and curtains above. And it was a place of rest. Most holy offerings were eaten within the hangings, less holy offerings and second tithe, anywhere within the sight [of Shiloh]" (Tract *Zebachim*, xiv. 6; see Surenhusius *Mishna*, vol. v. 59, Goldschmidt, *Der babylonische Talmud*, vol. viii. 394). Rabbi Obadiah de Bartenora, who died about the year 1500, comments thus: "Inasmuch as it is written 'And she brought him unto the house of the LORD in Shiloh' [1 Sam. i. 24], you see, therefore, that in Shiloh there was a *bayith*, house; and in Psa. lxxviii. 60 it is written 'And he forsook the tabernacle of Shiloh,' whence evidently curtains were there, yet not a roofed building, but a structure of stones merely below and curtains above" (Surenhusius, *loc. citat.*) An identical argument had already been advanced in the Babylonian Talmud.

The statement in the Mishna had its origin, like the explanation, probably in a harmonistic attempt. If so, the Jewish harmonizers did violence to the word *bayith*, in assuming that it involved the idea of solidity of structure, like the ordinary stone houses of Palestine. Modern critics rest their contention rather on the designation *hêkal*, given to the sanctuary in 1 Sam. i. 9, iii. 3. See footnote 26.

²² The two words tent and tabernacle, which are used in 2 Sam. vii. 6, are the words which are employed technically in the book of Exodus for the outer covering and the dwelling (Ex. xxv. 9 and R. V. margin, xxvi. 6 and 7). In 2 Sam. vii. 6 Budde following Klostermann would substitute the form of words used by the Chronicler: "from tent to tent and from tabernacle [to tabernacle] (1 Chron. xvii. 5); but his argument has been met by H. P. Smith and Benzinger (comp. Curtis, *International Critical Commentary, Chronicles*, p. 228). In the judgment of Bertheau, Wellhausen, Kautzsch, Kittel, Benzinger, H. P. Smith, Nowack, the text is not suspicious.

The date of the chapter is apparently placed by H. P. Smith "perhaps in or after the exile" (p. xxvi with xx, and 298); but it is generally conceded that the narrative was committed to writing before the exile, perhaps in the time of Josiah, 639-608 B.C. (Wellhausen, *Composition*,³ S. 255, *Prolegomena*, S. 46; Löhr, S. lvi.; Nowack, S. 176), or "prior to 650 B.C." (Budde), or "hardly later than circa 700 B.C." (Driver, *Introduction*,¹⁰ p. 183), and based on old historical material (Kittel, *Geschichte der Hebräer*, II. 43). The argument is mainly this: The narrative was written after David had pitched the tent for the ark and

wealth at his disposal, who built a house of cedar for himself (2 Sam. v. 11, vii. 2), did not venture at any time during his life to have any other sanctuary in his capital than a tent (1 Kin. ii. 28, 29).²³

The sanctuary at Shiloh is frequently called the house of Jehovah (1 Sam. i. 7, 24; iii. 15; and house of God, Judg. xviii. 31); and it is properly designated in this way, although it was a great tent. The tabernacle had been known by the same designation centuries earlier while it was still carried about, a portable tent, from place to place by the migrating tribes of Israel (Josh. ix. 23, early J; vi. 24 P);²⁴ and the had built a palace for himself at Jerusalem; and, apart from possible later touches, before the exile, because the fall of the dynasty and kingdom is not yet within view; but not a great while before the exile, since (so it is assumed in the argument) the author is looking back, not forward, in verses 14 and 19 (Wellhausen; Cornill, *Einleitung*,³ S. 104; Nowack).

The ark had been kept first in the Mosaic tabernacle, and latterly in the tent that David pitched for it at Jerusalem; hence, to cite words of Wellhausen, "die Lesart der Parallelstelle in der Chronik (I. 17, 5) beruht darum auf einem ganz richtigen Verständniss (*Prolegomena*, S. 47).

²³ Sellin, *Das Zelt Jahwes*, in *Alttestamentliche Studien Rudolph Kittel zum 60. Geburtstag dargebracht*, S. 175.

²⁴ The word house does not appear in the Septuagint (A, B, Lucian) of Josh. vi. 24, being perhaps omitted because not used in the Hebrew text of verse 19. In Josh. ix. 23 the genuineness of the words "house of my God" is unquestioned.

Wellhausen assumes an anachronism in Josh. vi. 24 and ix. 23 [in the designation "house of Jehovah" in a narrative of events in the time of Joshua], and says this anachronism "proves that the conception of the tabernacle was unknown to the author" (*Prolegomena*,³ S. 43, Anm. 2); and Steuernagel, who treats the word "house" in the Hebrew text of Josh. vi. 24 as an interpolation says that house of Jehovah "wäre für die Zeit Josuas ein Anachronismus. Der Ausdruck kam wohl einem Abschreiber in die Feder, weil er zu seiner Zeit gebräuchlich war, doch cf. auch zu ix. 23" (Nowack's *Handkommentar: Deuteronomium und Josua*).

The soundness and antiquity of 2 Sam. xii. 20 is unquestioned; and there the house of Jehovah designates the tent of the ark. Löhr acknowledges this; but suggests as an alternative that the use of the word "house" in this connection is due to the negligence of the author, since elsewhere it is used of the temple on mount Zion (*Die Bücher Samuels* von Thenius).

These various theories are groundless in view of the breadth of meaning in the Hebrew usage of the word rendered "house."

tent which David pitched for the ark at Jerusalem became forthwith the house of Jehovah, and is so described (2 Sam. xii. 20; I Chron. vi. 16, English 31). Indeed the designation *bayith*, which is translated house, is applied to any dwelling, and has no reference whatsoever to the material of the structure or its durability. The tents or curtains which were woven for the goddess Asherah are called houses (2 Kin. xxiii. 7, R. V. text and margin); and in Arabic and Assyrian speech the tents of the Bedouin are "houses of the desert."²⁵

The sanctuary at Shiloh is twice mentioned in the narrative by a word which is translated temple (1 Sam. i. 9; iii. 3); and it could be thus spoken of, even though the tent had remained unchanged since the days of Moses in the wilderness. Yet in view of this designation the assertion has been made that "the structure [at Shiloh] seems to have been a solid building, otherwise it could not be called a temple."²⁶ The argument thus based on the word temple is not sound. It is not solidity that is denoted by the word translated temple. Etymologically²⁷ it seems to involve the ideas of largeness and capacity. But largeness and capacity are relative qualities. The sheik's tent is large and capacious and

²⁵ Concerning the Arabic usage of the word *bait* Freytag says: "Domus: sive ex materia fabрили, sive ex lino, lana vel pilis confecta: uti est tentorium" (*Lexicon Arabico-latinum*, tom. I. p. 175).

²⁶ H. P. Smith (*International Critical Commentary: Samuel*, p. 9). Similarly his predecessors Graf, *bayith* "steht nicht zur Bezeichnung eines Zeltes, am allerwenigsten aber *hêkal*" (*Geschichtliche Bücher des Alten Testaments*, S. 56), and Wellhausen, "überall sonst in 1 Sam. i-iii ist das Heiligtum von Silo ein Hekal, d. h. sicher kein Zelt" (*Prolegomena*, S. 43, Anm. 1); and more recent writers Löhr, "es ist ein festes Gebäude (*hêkal*), kein Zelt" (*Die Bücher Samuels von Otto Thenius*, S. 7), and Nowack, "*hêkal* lässt darüber keinen Zweifel, dass das in Silo stehende Heiligtum ein festes Gebäude und nicht nur ein Zelt war" (*Handkommentar zum Alten Testament: Richter, Ruth u. Bücher Samuels*, S. 5).

²⁷ Whether derived from *yakol* in the sense of capacious, spacious; or, while associated with that root in the mind of the Hebrews, was really borrowed from the Assyrian and Babylonian composite *ê-kal*, great house.

sumptuous in comparison with the tents of his subordinate tribesmen. And the tent at Shiloh, merely to shelter the ark and other sacred furniture known to have been used there, was itself large and stood in a large and ample court in comparison with the dwelling-houses in Shiloh and other towns of Israel in that day, houses which were almost incredibly small and were packed together along alleys but three or four feet wide. The thought of size, however, is seldom to the forefront in the usage of the word, even though the idea may be lurking in the back ground. In its use the word means a royal residence. It seems never to have been used of the abodes of the rich, however extensive and magnificently furnished such dwellings might be. In usage the word denotes the residence of a king. It is the palace: the palace of the king of Babylon, for example (2 Kin. xx. 18), the palace of Ahab (1 Kin. xxi. 1), the palace of Jehovah, Israel's divine king (Is. vi. 1). It is merely compliance with western usage which has led the translators of the Scriptures to render the word by palace when the residence of human royalty is intended, and by temple when an abode of deity is meant (2 Sam. xxii. 7; and Ezra v. 14 with i. 7). The sanctuary at Shiloh was called the palace of Jehovah, not because of its solidity, but incidentally because of its size and chiefly because it was the dwelling-place of Israel's divine king. Jehovah was of old regarded by Israel as king. The doctrine is voiced in Ex. xix. 6, Num. xxxiii. 21, Deut. xxxiii. 5, Is. vi. 1, Mic. iv. 7. It is found in the name of Saul's son, Malchishua (1 Sam. xiv. 49; xxxi. 2) and Naomi's husband Elimelech (Ruth i. 1).²⁸

²⁸ It is also found in Ex. xv. 18, Judg. viii. 23, 1 Sam. viii. 7, xii. 12. And the God of Israel performed all the functions of a king, as is set forth in the decalogue and its preface. He was lawgiver (verses 2 ff), judge (5, 6), deliverer of his people (2), their protector, who secured to them the peaceful possession of their country (12; comp. Isa. xxxiii. 22). He was acknowledged in their civil law book to be the Lord (*ha'adon*, Ex. xxxiii. 17, xxxiv. 23); and the doctrine of his sovereignty was enshrined in proper names, not only in those already mentioned, but in other names of the same period: Adonijah, son of David, and Adoniram, one of his officials (2 Sam. iii. 4, xx. 24); Eshbaal, son of

The furnishing of the sanctuary is not described, but several sacred objects connected with the worship are mentioned in the narrative. There was an altar there, on which burnt-offerings and peace-offerings and votive-offerings were brought to Jehovah (1 Sam. i. 3, 4, 21, 25, ii. 13, 28, iii. 14). Unfortunately the narrative gives no information, not even a hint, of the form and structure of this altar. Within the sanctuary was the bread of the presence; for the priests of the family that ministered at Shiloh were accustomed to lay holy bread, known as showbread, before Jehovah in the sanctuary, that it might be exhibited in his presence (1 Sam. xxi. 3-6). The lamp of God was there too, burning nightly during the hours of darkness (1 Sam. iii. 3). A lamp is not necessarily a seven-branched candelabrum; nevertheless the same expression that is employed here is sometimes used when the seven-branched lampstand is in mind (Ex. xxvii. 20 f; Lev. xxiv. 2 f). Another object of note, an ephod, for use when the priest made solemn inquiry of God, was kept at the sanctuary at Shiloh, to judge from an ephod being found later at Nob, in a definite place in the sanctuary there and known as the ephod and in the custody of the officiating priest, a descendant of Eli (1 Sam. xxi. 9; xxii. 10). But the chief object of all, sheltered beneath the tent at Shiloh, was the ark of God, the symbol of Jehovah's presence (1 Sam. iii. 3). It had been made in the wilderness under the direction of Moses, was constructed of acacia wood, and when carried was borne by means of poles (Deut. x. 1-5. J or E; Num. x. 33, Josh. iii. 3 E, 11, 13 J, 1 Kin. viii. 8). These facts are reported by the early historians; and as the ark was in existence from the time of Moses until the fall of Jerusalem in the sixth century before Christ, its form, structure, and contents were not matters of tradition, but of contemporary knowledge. The natural place for this ark was the inner chamber of the two apart-

Saul, and perhaps Meribbaal, a grandson (2 Sam. ii. 8 with 1 Chron. viii. 33; and 2 Sam. iv. 4 with 1 Chron. viii. 34), and Beeliada, son of David (2 Sam. v. 16 with 1 Chron. xiv. 7).

ments of the tent. For that room was the inviolable part of the nomad's tent. It was the place in the Egyptian temple where the image of the god stood; and it was the place which the ark occupied three generations later in Solomon's temple. It was the only proper place in the tent for the ark.

The sanctuary at Shiloh has been spoken of by influential writers as the principal place of worship for Israel in the days of Eli. As appears from the narrative it was visited by all Israel (1 Sam. ii. 22; cp. verses 14 and 24), and what occurred there was known to all Israel from Dan to Beersheba (iii. 20; iv. 1). This resort of Israelites from all parts of the country proves that it was at least the sanctuary of greatest renown and widest influence, for it had no rival in respect to this general concourse of the people. But was it also the national sanctuary of Israel? In intention, and as founded by Moses, and by inherent right because possessing national symbols, and in the consciousness of the people was Shiloh the common sanctuary of all Israel? Not, was it the only place where God might be worshipped; but was it the sanctuary for all the tribes, a sanctuary in which all Israelites were equally represented, and in the privileges and obligations of which all had an equal share?

1. There had been a national sanctuary during the sojourn of Israel in the wilderness: a tent that was established for the God of Israel, that was erected at the headquarters of the camp, that contained the ark of God, and that accompanied the people in all their migrations; the sanctuary where counsel was asked in behalf of the nation and whence with its sanction civil and religious laws went forth to all the people.²⁹ Of this sanctuary Shiloh was the recognized

²⁹ The tent of meeting (Ex. xxxiii. 7) was the tribunal of justice, whither everyone went that sought the Lord (7); for the matter in dispute was laid before God or, to use their phrase, the party sought Jehovah's face (2 Sam. xxi. 1, R.V.), inquired of God (Ex. xviii. 15), brought the cause to God (19, Num. xxvii, 5), came unto God or came before him (Ex. xxi. 6, xxii. 9, R.V.), stood before Jehovah (Deut. xix. 17); and it was a place of revelation (Ex. xxxiii. 9). Compare footnote 3.

continuation. Why should this sanctuary lose its national character, especially since it was the resort of Israelites from all parts of the land?

2. The selection of Shiloh as the site for the sanctuary of the ark and the place of ministry of the Aaronic priesthood demands an explanation, and the only satisfactory reason for the choice of this obscure town is its location almost exactly midway between the northern and southern, eastern and western boundaries of the land, and its nearness to the highway of travel between north and south. The suggestion made by the historian Josephus, that Shiloh was chosen "because of the beauty of its situation" (*Antiq.* v. 1, 19), is inadequate; for other towns equalled Shiloh, and some excelled it, in beauty. Nor is the selection of Shiloh explicable on the theory that it was the sanctuary of the tribes descended from Joseph, for Shiloh was far south of the center of the Joseph-tribes; and was an obscure town. Sacred associations and central position and accessibility pointed to Shechem as the natural place for the sanctuary of the ark, if the Joseph-tribes had been primarily in mind. But the tribe of Judah had as much right in the ark as had the Joseph-tribes.³⁰

When David became king of all Israel he made Jerusalem the political and religious capital of the united nation, largely because of its position on the boundary between the tribes of Judah and Benjamin, between the northern and southern divisions into which the Hebrews had become separated. Similarly Shiloh also seems to have been selected because of its central position in relation to all the tribes of Israel.³¹

3. The possession of the ark made Shiloh the religious

³⁰ Compare footnote 2.

³¹ Stanley, *Sinai and Palestine*, p. 298. After the loss of the ark the priests of Shiloh took up their residence at the village of Nob, near the abode of king Saul and in a measure in association with him (similarly Wellhausen, *Prolegomena*,³ S. 132). An intentional renewal of the ancient conditions when Aaron stood at the side of Moses at the headquarters of Israel?

capital of the nation; for the ark was not only the most ancient and holy religious symbol in Israel, it was also the one religious object of prime importance which belonged to the nation as a whole and which from the first had occupied the place of prominence in national affairs. The ark was the common property of the nation, for it had been made by Moses from the gifts of the people generally, a fact recognized by biblical critics of all schools. It was the ark which had been kept at the headquarters of the tribes when they were encamped in the wilderness and had formed the supreme place of worship for the Israelites without distinction of tribe during their migration. It was revered as the throne of Jehovah, the place of his presence and manifestation in the midst of the ten thousands of the thousands of Israel (Num. x. 35, 36, 1 Sam. iii. 21; cp. iv. 4 and margin). It was the paladium carried by the nation at the crossing of the Jordan and the capture of Jericho. About it the assembly of Israel gathered in the vale of Shechem, when they met to take upon the nation the obligations of Jehovah's law. At the summons of the elders of Israel it was brought from Shiloh in the territory of Ephraim to the battle where it fell into the hands of the Philistines (1 Sam. iv. 3, 5; cp. 12 and 16), and on its restoration to Israel it was cared for in a town of Judah; and it was taken to Jerusalem by David when he made that city the capital of re-united Israel. The ark of God was not of any local significance; with its loss "glory departed from Israel" (1 Sam. iv. 21 f. with 19). None was left. Name the child Ichabod, "glory is not." The ark of Jehovah was not the glory of Shiloh merely, as Dagon was the god of Ashdod, and Baal was the shame of Peor (Hos. ix. 10), and Ashtoreth the abomination of the Sidonians (2 Kin. xxiii. 13); not the glory of Ephraim only, but the glory of Israel, the glory because it was the symbol of Jehovah's glorious power (Ps. lxxviii. 61, cxxxii. 8), and the visible representative of the God of Israel glorious in his moral character (1 Sam. vi. 20, Ex. xv. 11), and the token of his glorious pres-

ence in deeds of deliverance wrought in behalf of his people (1 Sam. iv. 7 f.). While it abode in the midst of Israel glory was there. The ark thus made Shiloh the place of worship for the whole nation. Other towns had sacred associations with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and on that account were dear to all Israel, but Shiloh alone possessed the ark of the nation, the throne of Jehovah, the token of his presence in the midst of Israel.

4. The official head of the priestly family that ministered in the wilderness and at Shiloh was recognized as the national priest. It is unnecessary to dwell on incidents of the early history.³² Two statements of significance in the narrative of king Saul's reign will suffice.³³ In the early days of the kingdom, during an invasion of the country by the Philistines, Saul abode near the town of Geba (1 Sam. xiv. 2 with xiii. 16), in order to defend the pass at Michmash against

³² The earliest literature tells of the association of Aaron with Moses in the deliverance of Israel from Egypt (Ex. iv. 28, v. 1, 4 E; and v. 20, viii. 8, 25, ix. 27, x. [3], 8, 16, xii. 31, and before v. 3 originally, J; also 1 Sam. xii. 6, 8, Mic. vi. 4), of the prominence of Aaron at the headquarters of the camp (Ex. xviii. 12 E), of the appointment of Aaron and his two oldest sons with other representatives of Israel to take part in the ceremonies that officially completed the ratification of the covenant (xxiv. 1 J), of the authority accorded to Aaron in the government of the nation (xxxii. 1-5 and 21 E), of Aaron's priesthood and the succession of his son Eleazar to the office (Deut. x. 6 E), of Eleazar's death and burial in the inheritance of his son Phinehas (Josh. xxiv. 33 E). "With historical probability the family of Eli can be traced back to Phinehas, who was priest of the ark in the earlier period of the judges, and after whom the landed inheritance in mount Ephraim and likewise the younger of Eli's two sons were named" (Wellhausen, *Prolegomena*, S. 143, with a reference to Judg. xx. 28a, comp. *Prolegomena*, S. 245). Generally in the Old Testament the term father's house is technical, and denotes a clan, a secondary division of the tribe. Eli's father's house or clan was the family of Aaron, belonging to the tribal division of Kohath (1 Sam. ii. 27, see *Princeton Theological Review*, 1913, pp. 288-290).

³³ Contained in 1 Sam. xiv. 2, 3 and 18. Arnold condemns 3^a as an interpolation, but accepts 18^b as genuine (*Ephod and Ark*, p. 14); whereas Wellhausen holds 18^b to be genuine, and 2^b 3^a to be interpolated (*Text der Bücher Samuels*, 1871, S. 86). The three verses are assigned to the same source and treated as genuine by later critics of the text, Kittel, Budde, Löhr, H. P. Smith, Nowack.

the invading host. The band of faithful men who staid with him in this desperate venture is described thus: The people that were with him were about six hundred men; and Ahijah, the son of Ahitub, Ichabod's brother, the son of Phinehas, the son of Eli, the priest of Jehovah in Shiloh, wearing an ephod (xiv. 2 f, comp. xiii. 15 f).³⁴ The statement is cumbrous; but the unwieldiness arises from the necessary identification of Ahijah as a lineal descendant of Eli. The same form of statement is met with elsewhere in the Hebrew narratives.³⁵

This is a formal account of the entourage of the king, and is comparable with others where officials of the government are named. The organization of the state was quite embryonic in Saul's day, and in the distress and confusion caused by the Philistine invasion there stood at his side only a force of six hundred men and Ahijah, descendant of Eli, priest of Shiloh, ephod-bearer. The latter title is without the definite article, and in the English version is translated "wearing an ephod." The indefinite wording suggests to the uninitiated perhaps merely that Ahijah was present with the paraphernalia of a priest. But the ephod in this instance is not described as a linen ephod, which was a garment worn by priests of all ranks and by other persons when taking part officially in religious functions; and wherever an ephod is mentioned in the history, as it is here, without being

³⁴ The narrative, of which these verses form a part, "scheint," according to Kittel, "nicht erheblich von den Ereignissen abzustehen" (*Geschichte der Hebräer*, 1888, II. 31). According to Budde it belongs to "J¹, compiled before 800 BC." (*Books of Samuel: . . . The Hebrew Text printed in colors*, 1894). Löhr dates it not long after David's reign (Thenius' *Die Bücher Samuels*, 1898, pp. lxvi and lxviii). Henry Preserved Smith discerns in it "affinities with the stories that form the basis of the book of Judges rather than with J" (*International Critical Commentary, Samuel*, 1899, p. xxii). And Nowack sees here "eine mit den Ereignissen zwar nicht gleichzeitige, aber von ihnen auch nicht sehr ferne Quelle" (*Handkommentar zum Alten Testament: Bücher Samuelis*, 1902, S. xvii). See also Driver, *Introduction*,¹⁰ pp. 175 and 183.

³⁵ For example 1 Chron. xii. 27 f [Heb. 28 f]; also 2 Sam. ii. 30, xix. 17 [Heb. 18], 1 Kin. xx. 1.

specifically described as made of linen,³⁶ it is understood to denote something that served as a means in consulting the oracle. In the sanctuary at Nob, and hence previously at Shiloh, there was only one such ephod. It was known as "the ephod" (1 Sam. xxi. 10, English 9), and was a notable part of the furnishing. Recent critics are fond of asserting that it was a prominent solid object in the sacred apartment, and occupied a fixed and quite definite place. Be that as it may, it was this ephod of which the priest Ahijah was now the bearer or the wearer—the Hebrew word may have either meaning.³⁷ He was ephod-bearer. The phrase lacks the definite article because it is a title of office. In official titles the definite article is unnecessary, and frequently is unused. Thus for example, Jehoshaphat was recorder and Seraiah scribe in the cabinet of David (2 Sam. viii. 16-18); and it is recorded that Joab was army-commander for king David, not captain of the army, but simply captain of army (1 Chron. xxvii. 34), but later Amasa was made army-commander in the room of Joab (2 Sam. xix. 14, English 13); that people of the north made Omri, who was army-commander, king over Israel (1 Kin. xvi. 16); that Zechariah, son of Meshelemiah, was keeper of door, or door-keeper, for the tent of meeting (1 Chron. ix. 21); that the commander

³⁶ Judg. viii. 27, xvii. 5, xviii. 14-20, 1 Sam. ii. 28, xiv. 3, xxi. 9, xxiii. 6-9, xxx. 7, Hos. iii. 4.

³⁷ Like the German *tragen*. "Whether we should translate *to bear* an ephod, or *to wear* an ephod depends upon the meaning of the word ephod, concerning which this passage [1 Sam. ii. 28] leaves us wholly in the dark" (H. P. Smith, *Samuel*). Accordingly 1 Sam. xxii. 18 is rendered "wore the linen ephod" (*ibid.*). On this latter verse Nowack remarks, "Hinter 'ephod fehlt in LXX *bad* mit Recht, denn *nasa'* wird sonst nur [nie (?)] vom Tragen eines Kleidungsstückes gebraucht." See also Löhr; and Driver *Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Books of Samuel*, 2nd edition, pp. 182 and 37. The word linen is lacking, it is true, in the Septuagint texts B and Lucian, but it is present in text A. It is retained by Budde, and belongs to a passage assigned to "J¹, compiled before 800 B.C." It is retained in Kittel's text also, who notes its representation in Aquila's version by a Greek word meaning choice (*Biblia Hebræica*; see Field's *Origenis Hexaplorum quae supersunt*). It is represented in the Chaldee version also (*Targum Jonathan*), and in the Vulgate.

of the Babylonians at the capture of Jerusalem was Nebuzaradan, captain of guard (2 Kin. xxv. 8-20; Jer. xxxix. 9-13 et passim), and that Nebuchadnezzar raised Daniel to the rank of master of magicians (Dan. v. 11) and made him chief of governors over the wise men of Babylon (ii. 48). So Ahijah, descendant of Eli, priest of Jehovah in Shiloh, was bearer of ephod. His official title was ephod-bearer. In his official capacity of ephod-bearer the priest of the lineage of Eli was with the king of Israel in this critical hour for the nation. Officially he was ephod-bearer for the nation. Such appears to be the meaning that belongs to the peculiar form of statement.

The fact itself appears a second time a little farther on in the same narrative, where it is written: Saul said unto Ahijah, Bring hither the ark of God; for the ark of God was in that day and the children of Israel (1 Sam. xiv. 18). Evidently the text is corrupt; but fortunately in one important particular it is established by the concurrent testimony of ancient versions. In the makeshift translation adopted in the English version the passage reads thus: Bring hither the ark of God, for the ark of God was *there* at that time with the children of Israel. The margin of the Revised Version notes that "some editions of Sept.³⁸ have, Bring hither the ephod. For he wore³⁹ the ephod at that time before Israel." For reasons that need not be entered into here, this reading of the Septuagint has been accepted by textual critics and commentators generally, as representing the original Hebrew. Ahijah had the ephod, not likely the ark, with him at the time. He had the ephod itself with him, not merely the title of office derived from it. So much for the first part of the verse. In the latter half of the verse, whether it was ark or ephod which was originally written there—and it makes no material difference to the meaning of the sacred

³⁸ B and Lucian.

³⁹ So the Revised Version, both English and American; but the Greek verb is *airein*, to carry, bear (not, to wear). It testifies, of course, to the presence of the verb *nasa'* in the Hebrew text.

historian which word is preferred by textual criticism—there once stood before ark or ephod the word bearer, as is witnessed by the Greek version. The priest Ahijah is stated to have been at that time⁴⁰ officially ark-bearer⁴¹ or ephod-bearer, and for this reason was competent to make inquiry of Jehovah. And for whom did he hold this office? The answer is given by a couple of words at the end of the sentence, which are guaranteed by a comparison of the Hebrew and Greek texts: he was at that time ark-bearer or ephod-bearer “before Israel” (לפני) ⁴² or “for the children of Israel” (לבני). Ahijah held this official priestly position for Israel. It was a national ecclesiastical office, and it was

⁴⁰ Hebrew *bayyom hahu'*. Whether “that day” is interpreted in the restricted sense of one particular day (Arnold, *Ephod and Ark*, p. 13 and note 2, “on the day in question”) or, in accordance with its quite frequent use, is understood to denote a period and rendered “at that time” (A. V. and R. V.; Wellhausen, *Text der Bücher Samuelis*, S. 89, Nowack, and Löhr, “damals”; see Josh. xiv. 9, 1 Sam. iii. 2, 2 Kin. iii. 6, 2 Chron. xv. 11, Jer. xxxix 10, and in reference to the future Deut. xxxi. 17, 1 Sam. iii. 12, viii. 18, Isa. ii. 11, *et passim*), makes no essential difference in the general meaning of the passage. The latter interpretation is, however, the correct one; since it is impossible to think that the narrator is describing the priest in the act of conducting a solemn spectacle before the army, as the restricted interpretation implies, and especially since Ahijah was sojourning at headquarters, abiding with Saul and the army, as told in verses 2 and 3.

⁴¹ At a later period another descendant of Eli, Abiathar by name, held the position of ark-bearer, and on occasion took active part in bearing the ark (2 Sam. xv. 29 with 24). And in 1 Kin. ii. 26 f, of Abiathar it is written, “Because thou barest the ark of Jehovah before David”; “namely, both on the occasion of its solemn conveyance to Jerusalem (1 Chron. xv. 11 seq) and also on David’s flight from Absalom (2 Sam. xv. 24, 29), that is to say, because of his high-priestly dignity” (Keil). “By its tense the verb denotes not a habitual act, but the function of ark-bearing, taken as a whole” (Beecher, *International Standard Bible Encyclopaedia*, art. Abiathar): and “dem Zusammenhange nach mit jenem Satze nichts Anderes als das heilige Amt überhaupt, welches Abj. unter (der Hebräer sagt vor) David verwaltet hatte, bezeichnet sein kann” (Thenius, *Die Bücher der Könige*, 1849, S. 18).

⁴² On the conformity of the phrase “before Israel” to the usage of Hebrew prose, see H. P. Smith, *Samuel*, p. 112 bottom. Compare the use of the preposition in Num. viii. 22, Deut. xviii. 7, 2 Sam. xvi. 19, 2 Chron. xix. 11.

filled by a member of the priestly family that had ministered for centuries in the sanctuary at Shiloh. The earlier passage which describes Ahijah (verse 3) and this one (verse 18) tell the same story: Ahijah, head of the priestly family of Shiloh, was ephod-bearer in those days, in his official capacity he was with the king (verse 3) and in his office was agent for the nation (verse 18). His priestly office was national. Thus in the history of Israel, as in the earlier days so now, the chief minister in the sanctuary which was founded by Moses in the wilderness and established at Shiloh after the conquest, is the only priest who is found officially occupying a national ecclesiastical position and officiating in the priestly office, himself or by deputy, in behalf of the entire nation.

In summary, the intention and function of the sanctuary erected by Moses, the selection of Shiloh for its permanent location in the land of Israel, its possession of the ark, the common property of the tribes and the one national symbol, and the position which the priest of the ark occupied in national affairs combine to certify that Shiloh was not merely the principal sanctuary in Israel in the time of the judges, but the national sanctuary and recognized by Israel as such.

JOHN D. DAVIS.

Princeton.

CHRISTIANITY AND HUMANITARIAN PATRIOTISM

Patriotism is the love of country. An individual does not find himself one among all the individuals of mankind; he comes into life one in a family, soon finds himself one in a community, and later one in a larger community, his country. There are sacred obligations that bind one to wife or husband, to parents and children, to brothers and sisters; and to recognize these obligations and fulfil them, cultivating the appropriate affections, gives to human life a sort of sacredness, while to disregard these obligations is to profane that life. So in the community and the nation there are sacred relations which it is degrading and debasing to disregard. Patriotism, a sort of exclusive love for one's country, is an inescapable obligation.

Patriotism requires a broader affection than the love of one's own family. For a man to stop short with the utmost loyalty to his family, and be indifferent and disloyal to his country, is to fall short of his obligation. So also patriotism is itself too narrow to be all-comprehending; it must be comprehended in a broader loyalty, humanitarianism, or love for all mankind.

There is no real conflict between these obligations,—loyalty to family, to country, and to humanity. Each has its absolute demands and also its limitations. No outward claim can require a man to violate his personal integrity or veracity. Loyalty to country or to mankind can never require him to be unfaithful to his wife. Humanitarianism can never require treason. These loyalties are harmonious; and no man can live the full and beautiful life who is disloyal to humanity, to country, or to family.

Most men of the better sort recognize their obligations to family and to country, but many of them have not accepted their obligation to the broader community of mankind. This obligation we may call humanitarian patriot-

ism, as recognizing the obligation to humanity while still accepting the special obligation to country.

Now the question we wish to consider is the relation of Christianity to this humanitarian patriotism.

Undoubtedly they are compatible, and more than compatible. Christianity teaches that all mankind are one family, bids men worship a Savior who died for all men, and enforces the duty of loving one's neighbor as oneself. It would be absurd to restrict this obligation to individuals of the same country. Christianity approves a humanitarian patriotism, and affords sufficient motives for the practice of it.

Christianity, however, is not merely another name for this humanitarian patriotism as many assume, but modifies it, and gives it a very definite form and content.

One direction in which Christianity limits humanitarian patriotism, and even condemns it as inadequate when regarded as an end in itself, is Godward. Christianity believes in God as being above man as well as in God as dwelling in man, in a God, who is transcendent as well as imminent. While requiring each man to love his neighbor as himself, it requires him to love God with a still greater devotion. This loyalty to God is consistent with humanitarianism, with patriotism, and with loyalty to family, but demands supremacy for itself. To serve man cannot take the place of serving God; to serve man is not the whole of serving God.

As long as we live, whether before or after death, we must live in close contact with God because we live in God's world. We are perpetually religious as well as perpetually social. Morality is not the whole of righteousness. There can be no permanent peace while we are at war with God. Nor was God made for man, but man for God.

Another direction in which Christianity limits humanitarianism, and shows it to be inadequate and incomplete in itself is manward. Nothing is really good when looked at apart from God; God alone is the good of man. All else is good for man only as God is enjoyed in it. Man is

an animal, but to enjoy animal good as if he were only an animal is for man an evil. Man is rational, but to enjoy rational good as if he were but rational is for man an evil. Man is social, but to enjoy social good as if he were but social is for man an evil. Man is religious, and to cut him off from God by engaging him in the lower exclusively is to starve and destroy him as man.

All this is true of man in society as well as of the individual. Human society without God can never attain to its best, and can not even maintain what we may call its less than best for any length of time. It gradually but inevitably sinks to a lower and lower level. Christianity denies the possibility of either individual or social salvation to the Godless.

The third respect in which Christianity limits humanitarianism, and proves it to be inadequate, is churchward. I am using the word church in the Pauline sense of the society of men who are united in Christ by being vitally united to him. In him men meet God; and only in him can they satisfy God's demands upon them, and only in him can they find God as their good. Christianity declares Christ to be the head of his people, the church. The surest of all efforts at betterment therefore is the one which endeavors to bring men into living union with Christ and his people, and to perfect them in this social unit and organism. The church in this sense is the humanity that is to be, the permanent mankind; and it is to inherit the fruits of all the toils of body and mind and spirit done through the ages in and by individuals and institutions.

Now not all men become incorporated in this immortal mankind and thus share in the salvation, social and individual, possible to man; and those who miss this incorporation miss all, and perish. Hence a humanitarianism that labors for mankind rather than for the elect of mankind, and counts itself a failure if any perish, and destroys all in the vain effort to save all, is in conflict with Christianity. Christianity seeks to do good to all men, and passionately

seeks the salvation of all by their engrafting into the body of Christ, but lives and works on and on, sustained in all failures by the sure expectation of eternal life for the church, and guided in its selection of endeavors by the growing manifestation who are of this imperishable mankind. An indiscriminate humanitarianism must be impatient with Christianity.

Humanitarianism, therefore, will impeach the Christ of Christianity. It will, first of all, impeach his deity. As man, he is too attractive to ignore; he is himself the Great Humanitarian; he has captivated the heart of mankind. But as God, mere humanitarianism has no use for him and thrusts him aside. And its method of opposition is to drown the assertion of his divinity by its loud praise of his humanity. Humanitarianism will impeach his atonement. There is no place for atonement where there is no God other than the better elements of human nature. If sin is misfortune, the cross is folly. And humanitarianism will impeach the lordship of Christ. That a man who died two thousand years ago should claim as God the right to command our obedience today is intolerable to those who have no God except the better nature in men.

Humanitarianism will seek to save men by means of the external. Its method of salvation is through perfection of environment. Sanitation and education take the place of regeneration and the Holy Spirit; the correction of economic and political evils will regenerate the world.

Humanitarianism will ignore the after-death. It knows too little of what comes after death to allow the life before death to be made a means for the improvement of the conditions of the life after death,—if there be any. It looks forward to the humanity of the future, of future generations, and uses individuals during their little stay in the quarries of this life to do their little task on the rising and eternal pyramid of humanity. The individual lives on in the future only as he now “does his bit” in building up that future; but once gone, he is gone utterly, whether Shake-

speare or Washington, and can never come back to take his place in that social structure which his life and labors helped to erect. Consequently humanitarianism will passionately insist either on equality of opportunity for all to share in the good of before-death, seeing there is no rectification of wrongs in the after-death, or, seeing that all who are, must be sacrificed for those who are to be, it will immolate the mortal multitudes for the upbuilding of immortal institutions, and for the sake of *efficiency* it will organize society into a military despotism, or else will endeavor to combine *equality* with *efficiency* in a social and political structure where all are happy and none are free.

Humanitarianism fastens on tendencies and movements of our time, and seeks to capture and control them. A distinctive tendency of our time is the socialistic. Socialism is the movement toward the thorough reorganization of society in such a way that all individuals without distinction shall be assigned each to his proper place for the good of the social whole. Then each individual will become the servant of the social whole, and will obey it, work for it, and be fed and trained by it. No man will own anything, not even himself, but society will own all persons and all goods.

Socialism is making its appeal effective. In Germany, autocratic, in Russia, democratic, it is in control; and in the countries of the Allies it is constantly winning concession after concession. We may hang its guerillas of the I. W. W., but we come to terms with its armies of organized labor. We are socializing the railroads and other public utilities; we are socializing fuel and food; we are socializing man power. Socialism is the one sure victor of the Great War.

Democracy is not socialism. The socialized society may be controlled by an autocratic few or by the democratic all. A democratic society is controlled, not by a class or caste, but by all acting together as equals. The democratic mass may commit the actual administration to a monarch, to a

few agents, or to many agents, but the initial and final authority is in the whole people acting together as equals.

Democracy is making its appeal effective. All the Allies are democratic, or think that they are democratic, unless it be Japan; and they are fighting to "make the world safe for democracy." Everywhere the tendency is toward a more democratic constitution. If the Central Powers were to win the war, this tendency to fuller and completer democracy would be arrested; but this is the reason why they cannot win the war. The spirit of the age is against them.

Internationalism is the movement toward universalizing socialism and democracy. It stands over against imperialism, which would universalize socialism and autocracy. One of these two must win out in this war, and the currents run toward internationalism.

The universalizing of education is a necessary means of making socialism and democracy effective. Even autocracy would educate all into docile efficiency. This movement will therefore receive a great impetus, whatever the outcome of the war. Social service, seeking especially to uplift those who are naturally or economically or morally inferior to the average well-to-do; missions to regions and groups, otherwise beyond the reach of uplifting influences; and propagandism of beliefs and views that are thought to be uplifting,—all these must be named among the tendencies of our time. Altruism threatens to render such terms as religion and piety obsolete, and such terms as righteousness rare.

Now into this stream of tendencies the humanitarianism, or humanitarian patriotism, of which we are speaking, can come and, precipitating certain elements, color the whole stream with its own peculiarity, and become the dominant element. By emphasizing its own altruistic principle, it vindicates socialism as the best way to abolish poverty and secure the general welfare, reënforcing this conclusion by its stress on environment. Denying sin and guilt, it traces all the evils of society to controllable conditions, and becomes

a passionate champion of salvation by efficient organization. It thus sanctifies socialism, and then uses it as a means of promoting its own progress.

More congenial still is this humanitarianism with democracy; for they both lay emphasis on the dignity of human nature, on the worth of every man as man. Stressing the dignity of human nature as such, democracy makes little of external differences of condition and fortune, and demands respect for the individual man. It thus lays a basis on which to demand participation in the government by every one as essentially the equal of all the rest, in one breath demanding the equality of all in power and in opportunity. And by denying all divine authority it gets rid of every form of ecclesiastical authority and of the divine right of kings as well, and thus opens the way for the calling of all to share equally in the government of all.

When humanitarianism has made the socialistic and the democratic tendencies its servants, all else will follow. It will control education, making it universal and anti-Christian. This it can the more easily do in America, seeing that we have separated the state and the church; and as a matter of fact humanitarianism regards the state without religion as all the better qualified thereby to educate all its citizens, and therefore aims to deprive the church of all educational functions.

It will of course make internationalism its own, and establish a supnation on a humanitarian basis. It can no longer have before its eyes the fear of the God who came down to Babel and scattered mankind into separate nations.

Then social service will take the place of worship, and institutions like the Red Cross and the Y. M. C. A., on its purely social side, will displace the churches. The diffusion of socialism and democracy will supersede foreign missions and home missions. And the propaganda of this new philosophy, this new religion, if we can call it by this name, through schools and missions, through the press and theatre and every other agent of publicity, all under the direction of a socialistic government, will become a matter of course.

One of two results will follow. The movement will be wrecked by the dissensions of conflicting interests and especially by the resistance of individuals and groups demanding independence and freedom. For there is an inherent antagonism between the socialism of the times and liberty; between supernational socialism organizing a world government and the liberty of peoples; between national socialism and individual liberty. And this antagonism will wreck the present movement toward a socialistic and democratic supernationalism. Or else the movement will succeed, and humanitarianism will obtain universal power. Once it does this, religion and the church will be crushed out by force as pests to society. Then will come back the days of martyrdom; for the saints of Christ must be free both to live their religion and to teach it to their own children and to others. Rather than surrender this freedom they will have to show that Christians still know how to die.

But why should the church stand by, and let humanitarianism undo the progress of centuries and force Christianity to begin its world mission all over again? Is it not possible for the true Christianity to take possession of these movements and tendencies and purify them to its own uses?

Christianity is by nature intensely propagandist. Two things weaken it as a propaganda in our times, its divisions and its emphasis on beneficence. But if Americans and Japanese, so different politically, can yet unite politically as against a common foe, why may not all the branches of the Christian faith unite in promoting the Christian faith as against anti-Christian philosophies and faiths and infidelities? Only let this cooperation be cooperation in propagating the common faith, and proceed from zeal for the common faith and not from indifference to the treasury of truth. And as to beneficence, we must convince ourselves anew that to teach the truth committed to us is the highest and most necessary beneficence. While we must not neglect to feed the hungry and nurse the sick, let us believe with intensity of conviction that we have something better

to give than bread or healing. In this right appreciation of our mission let us seize the advantage of the trend to the use of propaganda, and, by surpassing all other isms in our zeal and diligence as advocates of our beliefs, arrest again the attention of men by a return of enthusiasm in turning the world upside down, and convince them that we at least believe in our religion.

This will mean, of course, not only an increase of zeal and efficiency in the religious education of our children, but also in the prosecution of missions both in foreign lands and to the unevangelized in home lands; and it will mean that in our missions we put evangelizing and catechising first, and relief second. It will mean also that we enter every place where beliefs are formed and use every agency for forming them,—propagandist societies like the N. E. A. and R. E. A., and books and periodicals; and that we everywhere oppose the propaganda of humanitarianism, challenging its principles and positively asserting and applying the principles of true Christianity. Particularly we must write text-books, works of fiction, editorials, etc., and be as aggressive as are the advocates of destructive criticism or of Christian Science.

Especially must we enter the schools, the grammar and high schools, the colleges and universities, the normal and professional schools, strenuously combatting, on scientific grounds anti-Christian teachings that put on the guise of science, on historical grounds anti-Christian teachings that put on the guise of history, and especially on psychological grounds anti-Christian teachings that put on the guise of psychology. This we can do effectively, not by assuming an attitude of bigoted intolerance or of petty criticism, incompetent because ignorant, but by the intelligent, open and fair use of argument and testimony. Not one public institution should be permitted to teach what is really contrary to Christianity, without having that false teaching challenged and refuted by scholars of equal eminence and of superior poise and intelligence. Christ has a right to the testimony of his friends in the sanhedrins of learning.

Social service is not to be neglected by the church, but rather magnified. Wherever there is want and suffering, wherever injustice and oppression, there we should be, and there to serve. We should gladly cooperate with those who are not Christians, in political and social reforms, and in every sort of beneficence and social betterment; but this we should do as under Christ, giving to him the credit of our sympathies and motives. Our Christ is really the inspiration of the altruistic service of our times, even when done by those who do not acknowledge him; and why should we who know him and adore him ever fail to confess him in all our service for humanity?

We must be really and abundantly humanitarian, enthusiastic in every service to humanity. To preach truth without showing goodness is to injure the truth. Here is where we who know Christ as Lord can meet all workers and all sufferers in a practical way and command their respect; and it is treason to Christ when his living epistles, which are to be known and read of all men, reveal no trace of his compassion for human need. Christ among the thinkers of the world must not be severed from Jesus among the sick of Galilee.

But what about such a movement as internationalism? Let us recognize, that Christianity sets up the ideal of peace among the nations and preaches the brotherhood of all the race; that it demands justice from all to all, whether individuals or nations, and especially cares for the poor and weak; and that a universal union really able to secure peace and justice and to do away with war, would delight the Christian to the heart. We may therefore favor the union of all the nations in a supranation for the protection of the weak and for the peace of all.

Only we must not forget that a union of resources in a spirit of pride, as if thereby the Great Humanity might get rid of dependence on God, will bring again confusion and division. The righteous and reverent may unite; the unjust and proud must remain divided into hostile nations.

We must not forget to guard against the absorption of other divine institutions by the state. Both the church and the family must be conserved. At the basis of all divine institutions is the family, consisting of the husband and wife and their children. Every attempt to undermine the family, by denying to it the full exercise of its functions, or by subjecting it to the church or to the state to the loss of its own freedom in its own proper sphere, imperils the social basis of the higher civilization, and must be resisted at every sacrifice and without compromise.

Out of the family sprang the state, the organ of action of the larger community and the organ of social justice. Then out of the state, as the holy nation of Israel, sprang at last the church, the separate society of Christ's people and the institute of religious truth. Now the preservation of the church separate from the state in both organization and function, and free to develop its own life and to fulfil its own function, is necessary and must be guaranteed at any and every cost. The middle institute between the family and the church, the state, threatens to absorb the functions of both, and this danger must be guarded against.

And we must not forget that there is another peril in the expansion of the state proposed by internationalism. Here some distinctions may be made. The *nation* in the sense in which we speak of France or Great Britain or the United States as a nation is not the whole of that divine institution strictly designated as the state. The city as an organized government, the county, and all local governments, are of the state. When therefore we think of the state as the institute of social justice, we must not substitute national government for the state. The state embraces the national government, but also local governments, and likewise international or supernational government so far as such may properly exist; and national government theoretically is no more a divine institution than is municipal government or international government.

But just as the township government has almost disap-

peared in the United States, and our municipal and county governments are of decreasing importance as compared with what we call the State, and our States of decreasing importance as compared with the national government, so there is danger that a supernational government, once organized, will tend to absorb more and more the functions of government, until nations lose their independence and individuality. This danger must be guarded against by making the international government strictly the organ of action by mankind as a whole and by limiting its power over nations to their protection from one another's injustice, and by greater emphasis upon the sacred right of freedom for each in the exercise of its own proper function, whether the supernational, the nation, or the local government, whether the state, the church, or the family, and whether society or the individual. But there must be located somewhere the authority and power to prevent wars among the nations and protect nations in their freedom and independence, a function that national governments have proved themselves unable to discharge; and some sort of superstate is the only possible instrumentality for the exercise of this kind of justice.

Christianity therefore must not oppose the present trend to internationalism, but promote it, purify it and save it from suicide. To oppose it is to suspend the practice of the brotherhood of man, and to hurt the cause of Him who draws all men unto Himself. But to accept this tendency to internationalism, or supernationalism, and to inject into it the Christian principles of reverence and justice and brotherhood is to win possession of a mighty agency for replacing anti-Christian humanitarianism with Christian humanitarianism.

This brings us to the more difficult question of democracy. To democracy understood as denial of human obligation to God, or as affirmation of the right of the people, or of a majority, to do a wrong, Christianity must stand forever opposed. No less must it oppose the denial of

authority to parents over children, or of authority to government over subjects.

But the essential of democracy is universal equality in franchise and eligibility. A pure democracy would not admit all to office, but would make all equally eligible to office; it would not make all equally influential in determining who should hold office, but would make all equal as electors. Democracy is the antithesis of caste, of hereditary difference in franchise and eligibility. This principle is not anti-Christian. On the contrary, Christianity makes all men essentially equal, because Christ died for all and in the gospel is offered to all, and dignifies each man with the highest individual responsibility, the responsibility of deciding for himself whether to accept Christ or to reject him. While Christianity does not affirm democracy, it makes the mind hospitable to the claims of democracy by implanting in it the appreciation of the dignity of the individual man.

The other essential of democracy is freedom, the right of every one to freedom and to education for freedom. This right to freedom in no way releases a man from his obligations to individuals and to society, or society from its obligations to him; but first among the obligations which society owes the individual is to respect and protect his freedom. The precise extent of the freedom of the individual it is not easy to define, but at least two affirmations may be made,—that the individual has the right to freedom in choosing what to be and do insofar as he does not interfere with the rights of others, and that as he grows in wisdom and character his freedom enlarges. Nothing can justify the limitation of any one's freedom but his incapacity to use it or his misuse of it to the infringement of the liberty of others; and when his freedom is limited because of his present incapacity, those who limit it are in duty bound to be aiming to prepare him for restoration to liberty. Without this passion for liberty democracy would be the shell of a fossil. And this principle of freedom, if not

explicitly asserted in the Christian teaching, grows so naturally out of its whole concept of man that Christianity at least predisposes to democracy. The open door before every man to sonship with God is his emancipation.

Humanitarianism, on the other hand, really tends to the denial of democracy. Denying to man responsibility great enough to require the atonement of the Son of God for the expiation of his sin, it cannot appreciate the real grandeur and dignity of man as a free personality. With its one-sided concern for the external advantages of life, it cannot give supreme value to freedom and to its development by the possession of the franchise and of eligibility, but will always value the comforts of life above freedom in living. With its attention directed to the ills of the suffering and the weak, it can evolve a practical pity for the unfortunate, but not a genuine reverence for all. Humanitarianism would discrown man of his glory in order to save him from his weaknesses; but Christianity would save him from his sins into his full glory as a free personality. Thus Christianity promotes democracy by developing the love of liberty and respect for liberty.

We come finally to the hardest problem of all, that of socialism. The first difficulty is to determine what socialism is. It is certainly of the essence of socialism to place the emphasis upon society, man in the aggregate, as distinguished from the individual man, as it is of the essence of individualism to magnify the importance of the individual as distinguished from society. If two men differed in this, that one of them set more by society and the other by the individual, the first would call the second individualistic, while the second would call the first socialistic. A man is an individualist to those who make more of society than he does, and a socialist to those who make more of the individual than he does. Socialism, then, strives for a higher appreciation of society than prevails at the time. This then is the first principle of socialism, the high appreciation of society as distinguished from the individual.

One may think of society as the mere resultant, in its influences, of the individuals that compose it, without thinking of it as an organic whole. A man who thus thinks of society would hardly be called a socialist, however important he might consider society. For it is not society that socialism makes so important, but society organized and directed to ends, organized society acting as an organism. Here also men differ. Some would organize society for more ends than would others, and some would organize society more thoroughly than would others. The second principle of socialism is consequently its emphasis on the thorough organization of society for comprehensive ends.

A third principle of socialism has to do with the use of force. Those who would discard the use of force altogether are so few that we may leave them out in this discussion, and make the use of force in organizing society and the use of force by organized society, and its use so far as necessary to effect thorough organization and successful operation, a fundamental of socialism.

Socialism, then, is the relatively high appreciation of society thoroughly organized by force and using force, as an agency for effecting human welfare. In other words, socialism believes in making the state more comprehensive in its functions and more effective in its operation. The principles of socialism are not necessarily anti-Christian, but its advocates may show themselves to be anti-Christian by the manner of their application of them.

Christianity believes in the individual, and in the liberty of the individual to be himself and live his life. It does not even seek to save the individual against his own consent. If socialism in practice undertakes to deny this individuality and to exert compulsion on the individual, even for his own good and the good of society, without developing his individuality and giving free play to his liberty, then socialism becomes despotic, anti-democratic, and anti-Christian. Only when force is necessary in training the individual for freedom or for the defense of society against his

abuse of it, is it right to use force upon the individual; for, society has its rights and obligations in relation to the individual, and the individual has his rights and obligations in relation to society, and neither may transgress these ethical limitations without trespass.

So too the family has its functions, and its own sphere of rights and obligations, and no government, however benevolent its intentions, may without trespass transgress the sacred dignity of the family. The church likewise has its own sacred sphere of rights and obligations, into which the state may not without trespass enter. Even the lesser divisions, from the neighborhood up to the great nation, have each its own sphere, into which the superior government may not rightfully enter; nor can there ever be a supnation with the right to do anything and everything, but such a supnation must forever stand limited in its functions by the rights of the lesser political divisions.

This doctrine of inalienable rights for the individual, for the family, for the church, and for the lesser included states as against the larger including state, is flatly denied by some extremes of socialism; and these extremes must be resisted to the death. It is against the church first of all that such extreme socialism will direct its assaults; and the Christianity of the time must meet these assaults and defeat them, or the liberty of the smaller communities, of the family, and of the individual, will perish in one all-comprehensive despotism.

But Christianity, still imbued with the zeal for social justice, and still conscious of its mission to the weak and the poor, the Christianity of Jesus, the Friend of the outcasts of society and of those done to death by the caste of culture, of wealth, and of power, the Christianity which has taught the brotherhood of man through all its history and held up before men the unfading hope of the ideal brotherhood that is yet to be, this Christianity cannot stand by and admit that any evil is without remedy, or oppose the more thorough organization of the state for the more effective

promotion of social justice, seeing that it is the very mother of the conception, and that the world itself has in our day, by improved means of intercommunication, become one great city instead of many dissevered peoples.

Let Christianity come to socialists with a tenderer sympathy and a more sensitive insight into the causes of suffering and wrong, with a deeper passion for social justice, and with a greater faith in the ability of the rightly organized state to do away with social injustice, than socialism possesses, and help them build a state that will be an efficient instrument of the many for securing the conditions of well-being for all instead of an instrument of the few for securing the conditions of wellbeing for some. Let Christianity come to democrats with a profounder sense of human rights and of the dignity of the individual man than ever mere humanitarian democracy can teach, and help them to end the crime of the ages, the exploitation of the many by the few. Let us build a superstate that will protect all peoples against criminal nations, and in every nation a state that will protect the church, and the family, and the individual, in their rightful spheres of liberty. Let us see that the heritage of intellectual and material wealth accumulated by mankind through the toil of the ages is so far given to all, that all shall receive the finest and broadest culture that they are capable and willing to receive, and have the conditions of the higher living. Let us search out the evils that are, and the evils that threaten to be, and let us not rest till those are cured and these are prevented, so far as cooperating intelligence can cure and prevent, without destroying human freedom and righteousness. Let us not rest content with any good for ourselves, so long as any of our human brothers are destitute of that good. And let us advertise our best, even Jesus Christ, by our own saved lives and by our grateful testimony, to all men with a zeal no other ism can show.

But all this is impossible, if we surrender Christianity to humanitarian patriotism, even though it speak like Jesus, and though it praise him more than the multitudes at his

triumphal entry. It is the Christ that must be our Savior and Lord, the Christ that died for our sins and rose again for our justification, this Christ the Son of God, now living and reigning. The deadliest enemy of our time to the Christianity of Jesus Christ is the mere humanitarianism which admires Jesus as a man but refuses to adore Christ as the Son of God.

F. P. RAMSAY.

Kansas City, Mo.

LIFE WORTHY OF THE GOSPEL OF CHRIST*

The late Professor Marcus Dods has left on record a striking testimony to the literary structure and arrangement of the Gospel according to John. "In the whole range of literature," he declares, "there is no composition which is a more perfect work of art, or which more rigidly excludes whatever does not subserve its main end. From the first word to the last there is no paragraph, sentence, or expression which is out of its place, or with which we could dispense. Part hangs together with part in perfect balance. The sequence may at times be obscure, but sequence there always is. The relevancy of this or that remark may not at first sight be apparent, but irrelevancy is impossible to this writer."

No one who has made a careful study of the structure and course of thought in the fourth Gospel will question the truth of this sweeping statement from Dr. Marcus Dods. But some of us who have made a special study of the organic structure of the books of the Bible are prepared to assert that the Gospel according to John is not the only New Testament book in whose behalf such a remarkable claim may be made. Essentially the same claim may be made in regard to many of the books of the New Testament. It is notably true of the immortal epistles of the apostle Paul, that colossal man, who at one time was a narrow-minded, bigoted, self-righteous soul, but whose intellect under the sway of the personality of Jesus grew and expanded, until it "gave birth to thoughts that pierce the night like stars." It is the thought of Paul, clear, well-articulated, embodied in his matchless epistles, that has brought hope and life and glory to our world. For some ten years it has been my privilege to make a special study of the literary arrange-

* This article is the first of three lectures on the Stone Foundation, which were delivered on the afternoons of Monday to Wednesday, March 25-27, 1918, in Miller Chapel. The second lecture, will appear in the July number, the third in the October number of this REVIEW.

ment and organic structure of Paul's writings. This investigation has been a most fascinating study. It has simply revolutionized my former methods of Bible study. It has deepened my conviction of the truth and inspiration of the Holy Scriptures. It has made the Bible nothing less than a new book to me. I have come from that study with the clear conviction that concerning nearly every one of the epistles of Paul it can be said, "from the first word to the last there is no paragraph, sentence, or expression which is out of its place, or with which we could dispense. Part hangs together with part in perfect balance. The sequence may at times be obscure, but sequence there always is."

Why should it be thought a thing incredible that the literary masterpieces which compose our Bible, like the masterpieces of the world's literature, contain some central and commanding thought, and that this central thought is carried forward step by step to its climax? The fact is that each book of the Bible was written to teach a definite truth, and that truth runs through the book from the beginning to the end, binding it into one whole. Any individual passage or verse can be fully understood only in the light of the theme and structure of the book as a whole. Each book of the Bible is an organic whole, a grand masterpiece. One great purpose dominates the author throughout, which as he proceeds is brought to its destined conclusion. Failure to recognize this unity is bound to produce misunderstanding and misinterpretation of many individual passages. What Professor A. B. Davidson remarked of the Old Testament prophets is equally true of all the books of the Bible: "no particular doctrine of the prophet can be properly understood without some comprehension of his scheme of thought as a whole."

If it be true that the books of the Bible present the unfolding of some definite thought—and we believe it is true—then it follows that every method of Bible study which ignores the organic unity and literary structure of each book is inadequate and defective. A brilliant Bible teacher

has recently remarked that the method of Bible study which prevails today is a "hop-skip-and-jump" method. He declares that no other book except a dictionary, or cook-book or a volume of popular quotations is used in the same way.

"The method of Bible study prevalent today leads the seeker for truth astray, in that it exalts a part above the whole. We should interpret a part in the light of the whole and not the whole in the light of a part. Difficulties of interpretation, if soluble at all, will be found soluble in the waters of the central current rather than in the brackish pools along the shore. Synecdoche, or the use of a part for the whole, is a figure of speech that belongs to rhetoric, not to logic, certainly not to hermeneutics. Photographers tell us," continues Dr. Charles Alphonso Smith, "that the airplane will soon inaugurate a new kind of photography. The bird's-eye view, the view of the lower from the realm of the higher, has hitherto been the privilege of the bird alone. It will soon be man's privilege. We shall see more because we shall see less. No book offers so much to the view from the heights as does the Bible; no writers have suffered more from the partial view than the writers of the books of the Bible, and no time has called more loudly for the release of the larger view than the time in which we live."

An objection, however, has been made to this method of Bible study on the ground that insistence upon analysis and definite theme will lead to an unnatural and artificial and mechanical interpretation of the Bible. The authors of the Bible, it is claimed, had no definite plan or outline or theme before them as they wrote. And when we try to discover the logical unfolding of a particular theme in any book of the sacred Scriptures, we are looking for something that is not there; we are foisting our Western methods of composition upon Eastern writers. In reply to these objections it may be said that the men who wrote the books of the Bible were, with one exception, Jews, and that structural arrangement was the very form and fashion of Jewish thought. The Holy Spirit who inspired these men made use of this pecu-

liar method of composition. Hence it comes about that the very arrangement and structure in a book of Scripture may be a proof of its inspiration and an indispensable help in interpreting its message.¹ However, we must be careful not to put our own fancied arrangement or structure upon any book. We should be on our constant guard not to force a preconceived analysis upon a book. We should allow ourselves to be guided simply and solely by the form and structure of the books themselves. When we have succeeded in finding the real organism of a book of the Bible, with every section, every paragraph, every sentence falling into its rightful place and performing its proper function, we shall discover that the form and the arrangement often-times contain the message, and that our efforts to discover the structure are not only full of fascinating interest, but also, when successful, full of blessing and power. I have the deep and growing conviction that no book of the Bible has been mastered until we can express its central thought in a short, clear-cut sentence, and until we can show the unfolding of that central thought, step by step, on to its climax and conclusion. I have found the securing of that central thought and the tracing of its logical development to be the most difficult and yet the most fruitful method of Bible study.

There are practically no real examples of this method of Bible study in print. For example, when we turn to the great Macmillan series of commentaries, made famous by the illustrious names of Lightfoot and Westcott and Swete and Mayor, we are disappointed to find that what these commentators call an "analysis" is only a table of contents, a list of topics, with no effort to show that there is a central thought binding the various topics into a whole. Lightfoot's usual divisions are headed: Doctrinal, Practical, Hortatory, Personal. He fails to show the logical connection between these divisions. I submit that while these outlines such as given by Lightfoot and others may show the contents of the books, they are far from being an "analysis." I do not

¹ See Milligan on the *Structure of Revelation*.

believe that you can find one real analysis in any volume of the Macmillan series of commentaries. Yet these commentaries stand in the front rank for scholarship and for the exegesis of the individual verses.

When we examine more recent commentaries, we find the same state of affairs. Here is an illustration. I open a recent volume on James, written by that gifted and genial New Testament scholar, Prof. A. T. Robertson. Dr. Robertson "analyzes" James as follows: Joy in Trial; The Way of Temptation; The Practice of the Word of God; Class Prejudice; The Appeal to Life; The Tongues of Teachers; The True Wise Man; The Outer and the Inner Life; God and Business; and Perseverance and Prayer. At the mere reading of these titles you readily perceive that there is no manifest connection between the successive sections; there is revealed no continuous thread of thought running through and binding the whole together. And yet the epistle of James is one of the most effectively arranged books in the Bible, having for its controlling thought this truth: a faith which does not determine the life cannot save the soul, and the whole epistle is concerned with an orderly unfolding of that idea. Or take Dr. Robertson's latest volume, just off the press, his most charming and stimulating book on Philipians, entitled "Paul's Joy in Christ." Here are the headings of the various sections: Joy in Prayer; Good out of Ill; Joy in Death as well as in Life; Paul's Full Cup; Realizing God's Plan in Life; Fellowship; The Holy Quest; Following the Road; The Garrison of Peace; The Secret of Happiness. Philipians is treated as if it were a number of detached fragments strung together with no regard to the order or connection of the parts. As a matter of fact, Philipians is one of the finest literary organisms in the Scriptures. I know no commentary, ancient or modern, that makes any serious and successful effort to show the all-controlling purpose and the dominant thought in the books of the Bible.

In the brief course of lectures which I have the honor to

deliver in this historic Seminary, my aim will be to illustrate concretely what we may call the "theme and analysis" method of Bible study. I shall take three of Paul's epistles and "try to strike the key-note of each, to find its tap-root, to uncover its pivotal point, and to chart its central current." For this purpose I have chosen Philippians, Colossians and Ephesians. I have selected these three for two reasons. First, our standard commentaries assert that of all the epistles of Paul these three are the most lacking in definite plan and arrangement. Hence, if we succeed in showing that in each of these epistles there is a central thought which is orderly developed, we are confident that our main contention as to the organic structure of the books of the Bible will be established. Philippians, Colossians, and Ephesians will supply an acid test of the truth or falsity of our theory. Secondly, these three books have been chosen, because there is a thought connection binding them together. They give us three sublime Pauline ideals: namely, The Ideal Savior, in Colossians; The Ideal Church, in Ephesians; and in Philippians, The Ideal Christian.

We come in our first lecture to Philippians.

At the outset let me call your attention to the practically unanimous opinion that obtains among Bible students as to the structure of Philippians. Bishop Lightfoot declares: "Of plan and arrangement there is even less than in St. Paul's letters generally. Even the threefold division into the explanatory, doctrinal and hortatory portions, which may generally be discerned in his epistles, is obliterated here." Dean Farrar says: "The letter is the least systematic of all the epistles." G. Campbell Morgan, who can analyze anything, confesses himself beaten in every attempt to analyze Philippians. He declares: "It is largely without system and extremely difficult to analyze. Who can analyze a love-letter? And that is what this letter is, which Paul wrote to his children at Philippi. There is no definite system in the letter." However, Dr. Morgan maintains that the thought of Philippians may be grouped around three words

—experience, exposition and exhortation; but he makes no attempt to show the thought-connection between these expressions. Speaking of Philippians Dr. A. T. Robertson says: "This epistle seems to have no formal or logical order."

Now let it be said that we do not claim that Paul deliberately and formally selected his theme and outlined his treatment before he put pen to paper to write to the Philippians, as we do when we prepare sermon-briefs; but we do assert that in pouring forth his love for the Philippian Church, which was the most Christian Church Paul had, the apostle has, unconsciously perhaps, taken his text and has stuck to it. That is to say, he has grouped his expressions of Christian affection around one central thought, which he develops in a straight course to a splendid climax. Let us now examine the epistle to see if this claim can be substantiated.

Turning to Philippians, we discover that the first eleven verses are clearly of an introductory nature and that the whole of chapter four forms the conclusion. Striking off introduction and conclusion, we have left as the body of the letter the section, i.12-iii.21. In passing, let us note that the introduction in i.1-11 contains first, the opening salutation (i.1-2) and then the opening prayer (i.3-11). In all Paul's epistles to churches, with the one exception of that to the Galatians (and there is a reason for the omission in Galatians) the opening salutation is followed by the opening prayer with its uniform divisions of thanksgiving and petition. The presence of opening salutation and prayer in all of Paul's letters, with the one exception just noted, is itself a clear evidence that Paul followed some plan, at least at the beginning of his epistles.

We enter, then, upon the body of the letter at i.12, and here the apostle begins a most interesting sketch of his life at Rome, which he continues through verse 26. The question arises: What function does this account of the apostle's life in Rome perform in the organism of the epistle? What was the author's purpose in thus sketching his life in Rome?

We have searched the commentaries in vain for an answer. Lightfoot simply says, "an account of his circumstances and feelings and of the progress of the Gospel in Rome." Neither he nor any other commentator attempts to show why Paul thus outlined his Christian activity in Rome. Thus in all our commentaries this section of Philippians, i.12-26, is left dangling in mid-air like Mahomet's coffin, or like a spider hanging from an invisible thread. Now, surely Paul had some purpose in giving this bit of his personal history. For in Philippians iv.9 he says: "The things which ye both learned and received and heard and saw in me, these things practise; and the God of peace shall be with you." We maintain that if any man of ordinary intelligence will sit down and read Phil. i.12-26 carefully through to the climax in verse 21, "for to me to live is Christ," he can not help seeing that Paul outlines his life in Rome for the distinct purpose of showing that always and everywhere his supreme aim had been to serve Christ. Life for him had always meant labor for Christ. Even though a prisoner in Rome and chained to a soldier, Paul could and Paul did serve Christ. And the apostle by telling the story of his life in prison is saying to the Philippians in the most effective and appealing way that if they would only make the service of Christ their constant aim, they, too, would always find an opportunity to serve Him, no matter how unlikely the time or place might seem to be. In the closing paragraph of chapter one, verses 27-30, Paul turns from his own life and pleads with the Philippians to make the service of Christ the constant purpose and supreme aim of their lives. "Only let your manner of life be worthy of the Gospel of Christ," he exhorts them, and so on through the first chapter.

Now we are prepared to bring together in a concise statement the central thought of the first chapter. That thought is that the supreme aim of every Christian should be the service of Christ. In the first paragraph, vss. 12-26, Paul shows that this had been the dominant purpose of his life; and in the second and closing paragraph he exhorts the

Philippians to make Christ's service the supreme purpose of their lives. Thus the two paragraphs unite in setting forth the idea that the supreme aim of every Christian should be the service of Christ.

Chapter two opens with a passage of surpassing beauty and power, in which the apostle describes the "mind" that was in our Saviour. By the "mind" of Christ he means the nature, disposition, or spirit which moved Christ to be born, to live and to die for us men and our salvation. Paul's purpose here is to reveal to us what was the motive power, the dynamo that propelled the Lord of Glory to live the life he lived and die the death he died. This motive was a certain mind or disposition in our Saviour, which, says Paul, had four outstanding qualities; it was unselfish, serving, humble and obedient. That was the mind of Christ; and that mind was the dynamo of his entire life.

In the second paragraph of chapter two, vss. 12-18, Paul urges the Philippians to strive to develop in them the same mind. "So then, my beloved, even as ye have always obeyed, not as in my presence only, but now much more in my absence"—there is the obedient mind. "Do all things without murmurings and questionings"—there is the unselfish and humble mind. "Ye are seen as lights in the world, holding forth the word of life"—there is the serving mind. "Yea, and if I am offered upon the sacrifice and service of your faith, I joy and rejoice with you all"—there is the mind obedient even unto death. In other words, in the second paragraph of chapter two, Paul pleads that the Philippians develop in them the mind that was in Christ.

When we come to the third paragraph of the second chapter, vss. 19-30, the logical development of Paul's thought seems at first sight to be broken. The apostle apparently leaves altogether the idea of the mind of Christ and speaks of the contemplated visit to Philippi of Timothy and Epaphroditus. But a close study of this paragraph will reveal the striking fact that as Paul describes the character of Timothy and Epaphroditus, he portrays the same four qualities

which we found in the mind of Christ; namely, unselfishness, service, humility, and obedience. Of Timothy he testifies: "For I have no man like-minded, who will care truly for your state. For they all seek their own, not the things of Jesus Christ. But we know the proof of him, that, as a child serveth his father, so he served with me in furtherance of the Gospel"—there is unselfish service. And of Epaphroditus he declares: "For the work of Christ he came nigh unto death, hazarding his life to supply that which was lacking in your service towards me"—there is the obedient service even unto death. Timothy and Epaphroditus had the mind of Christ; and that mind was the motive power of their lives.

This rapid survey brings us to a position where we can see clearly that chapter two with its three main paragraphs forms a real literary unit. In vss. 1-11, we have the mind of Christ as seen in Him personally; in vss. 12-18, the mind of Christ as it should be reproduced in the Philippians; and in vss. 19-30, the mind of Christ as exemplified in Timothy and Epaphroditus. Manifestly the unifying thought of chapter two is that the supreme motive power, or inspiration, of every Christian should be the mind of Christ.

The mind of Christ in us is the supreme inspiration to service. It was the mind of Christ in David Livingstone that made him say: "I place no value on anything I have or may possess except in relation to the Kingdom of Christ"; that sent him into the jungles of Africa to die there alone upon his knees with the prayer, "May God's richest blessings come down on every one who will help to heal this open sore of the world." It was the mind of Christ in David Brainerd that thrust him out into the depths of the American forest and made him spend whole nights in the deep snow, praying so earnestly for the conversion of the Indians, that when morning came his body was bathed in perspiration. It was the mind of Christ in Paul that made him say: "I take pleasure in weaknesses, in injuries, in necessities, in persecutions, in distresses for Christ's sake."

We now pass on to the third chapter. Bishop Lightfoot believes that the third chapter of Philippians is a digression. At the end of the chapter he remarks in his commentary on Philippians: "Here the digression ends and the main thread of the letter is recovered." It may be a bold thing to take issue with the great Bishop whose commentaries are still the last word in the exegesis of the Pauline epistles; but we are convinced that the Bishop is clearly in error when he asserts that this third chapter is a digression. The fact is that it is the pinnacle of Paul's noble presentation of the ideal Christian life. There is something higher than the service of Christ; there is something loftier than the mind of Christ. There is a towering peak to which both the service of Christ and the mind of Christ are lifting us, and what that is Paul portrays for us in his glorious third chapter of Philippians.

The chapter opens in the first six verses with a picture of the man who aspires after the flesh. This man is of the earth, earthy, and glories in fleshly attainments, such as circumcision, Israelitish descent, tribal standing, pure Hebrew origin, Phariseeism, zeal and legal righteousness. These are wonderful advantages in themselves, but one may have them without any real conformity to Christ. "The highest attainments of a life estranged from Christ belong to the realm of the flesh, to human nature as it exists and acts apart from the influence of the Spirit."

In the next paragraph (iii.7-16) Paul sketches for us another picture, that of the man who aspires after Christ and His likeness. This man glories in Christ Jesus and has no confidence in the flesh. What things had been gains to him, those he now counts but loss for Christ. The man who aspires after the flesh counts up his fleshly attainments one by one, even as a miser counts over his gold and silver coins, and proudly sets them down to his credit. On the other hand, the man who aspires after Christ lumps all these fleshly attainments together in one mass, under the general head of "loss," and then throws the whole mass away, even

as one would throw slop to the dogs. The man who aspires after the flesh glories in seven fleshly attainments. The man who aspires after Christ gladly suffers the loss of these attainments and all things like them, and in return receives from Christ seven marvelous blessings, seven new things that were never his before: a new righteousness—"that I may be found in Christ, not having a righteousness of my own, even that which is of the law, but that which is through faith in Christ, the righteousness which is from God by faith"; a new power—"that I may know the power of his resurrection"; a new fellowship—"that I may know the fellowship of his sufferings"; a new death—"becoming conformed unto his death"; a new resurrection—"that I may attain unto the resurrection of the dead"; a new lifework—"that I may grasp that for which I was grasped by Christ Jesus"; and a new destiny—"I press on toward the goal unto the prize of the upward calling of God in Christ Jesus." Behold! Christ makes all things new.

Paul brings this third chapter to a close in vss. 17-21, where he turns to the Philippians and urges them to aspire after him, even as he aspired after Christ. "Brethren, be ye imitators together of me, and mark them that so walk even as ye have us for an ensample."

We have now reached the place where we can unify this third chapter, with its three parts all converging to one point. The man who aspires after the seven fleshly attainments is contrasted with the Christian who aspires after the seven supreme blessings which Christ alone can give; all of which blessings are summed up in the likeness of Christ—the perfection of the Lord Jesus.. Then Paul urges the Philippians to aspire after him, even as he aspired after Christ. It is now perfectly obvious that Paul's purpose in the third chapter is to show that the supreme aspiration of every Christian should be the likeness of Christ.

Paul closes his beautiful letter with chapter four, where we find various farewell exhortations. We can discover no one thought running through this chapter and tying it

together. However, there are many verses of striking beauty. But Paul not only wrote beautiful words to the Philippians, he lived the beautiful life before them, even the ideal Christian life. So in closing he could say to them: "The things which ye both learned and received and heard and saw in me, practise." Paul lived what he preached to others. The secret of such a life is revealed in the great declaration: "I can do all things in him that strengtheneth me." Only in Christ can we live the ideal Christian life.

We have now completed our brief survey of the body of the epistle. We have reached the point where we should be able to state in a single sentence the theme of Philippians and in three brief sentences its main divisions. In Philippians what we really have is a magnificent presentation of that manner of life which is worthy of Christ. In i.27 Paul urges his readers: "Only let your manner of life be worthy of the gospel of Christ." And the whole epistle is the expansion of that urgent appeal. A life worthy of Christ and His Gospel! What a splendid theme and what a glorious Christian to handle it!

Now every life must have three things: aim, motive and final issue. And in Philippians we find that Paul has set forth these three facts about the ideal Christian life: the supreme aim of the ideal Christian is the service of Christ—"To me to live is Christ" (i.21); the supreme inspiration of the ideal Christian is the mind of Christ—"Have this mind in you which was also in Christ Jesus" (ii.5); and the supreme aspiration of the ideal Christian is the likeness of Christ—"I press on toward the goal unto the prize of the upward calling of God in Christ Jesus" (iii.14).

Can we not claim that Philippians is a perfect literary unit, with one main thread which runs through and binds all the parts together? Can we not say that the book is an organism, one body, in which each paragraph, each expression, each sentence occupies its rightful place and discharges its proper function? We trust we have not put into this epistle anything that is not there; that we have

uncovered its true organic structure. We trust that this exhibit of the theme and analysis of Philippians is so obviously true, so natural and unforced, that the mere statement of it carries the conviction of its truth. We would fain hope that this imperfect study of one of the most precious of Paul's immortal letters may cast a lane of new light upon the whole book and bring new blessings to the seeker after the wondrous things of God's Word.

EUGENE C. CALDWELL.

Richmond, Virginia.

ECCLESIASTES.*

There is one man, and only one, who bears the title of Preacher in the Old Testament. "The words of the Preacher, the Son of David, King of Jerusalem." That is the introduction to the Book of Ecclesiastes. We are not concerned with the question of authorship. The writer speaks in the name of Solomon, and we may believe that the book fairly represents the moods and experiences of the wisest of the sons of men, as he is made known to us by history and tradition. In this sense it may take its place as the first of that long series of autobiographies which is numbered among the choicest treasures of the race.

Much in Ecclesiastes remains obscure after all the labor and learning that have been lavished upon it; but its main drift and purpose may be discovered. It deserves our careful study because it is intensely modern in spirit, is a veritable tract for the times. The eager questioning, the doubt, the tone of profound sadness that pervades it, the sense of the weariness and emptiness of life that breathes from every page; how large a place they hold in the world today. The centuries have not availed to silence the cry of the spirit, or to appease its hunger. Beyond almost any other part of Scripture, therefore, Ecclesiastes lends itself to illustration drawn from the whole range of literature, ancient and modern, and especially the literature of recent years. In his *Theology in Modern Fiction* Selby says of Thomas Hardy, "This brilliant novelist seems to have set himself the task of rewriting the book of Ecclesiastes with the cheerful moral, 'Fear God, and keep his commandments,' dropped out. Whether he guides us over the purple heath, or through the lush pastoral valley, or by the restless sea, we are never quite away from the refrain, 'Vanity of vanities.' " Upon a large part of the book, its moods of sensu-

*This paper was read in substance before the annual Convocation of Bangor Theological Seminary, in January, 1917.

ality and doubt and cynicism, there is no more illuminating Commentary than the Rubaiyat of Omar Khayyam.

Ecclesiastes invites our study not only because it is intensely modern in spirit, speaks to us with the voice of our own time, but because it deals with themes of the highest moment, the great problems of life and character and destiny. It is a difficult book to expound, even to understand in all its parts; yet we may trace the general course of the thought, even though much escapes us in detail. Let us term it *The Confessions of a King*, or, *The Problem of Life*. Taking as the theme of the book *The Problem of Life*, we may divide it into three parts.

1. The Problem Stated.

It is the problem that has exercised the minds of men from the beginning, the problem of which every man must in some way find a solution for himself; what is the chief good in life, and where may it be found? What is the chief end of man?

This is the story of Solomon's quest of the chief good, a story which has its counterpart in every life. However meager our capacity and opportunity may be compared with his, the same eager desire is astir in our hearts, and we are all bent upon the same errand. The world is all before him, bright, beautiful, alluring, bewildering; his youthful spirit is hot and eager and hopeful, prepared for all adventure. Let us follow him, and see how he fares on this broad highway of life. We shall mark how he proposed to himself various objects of desire and pursuit, and attained them one by one, only to find them turn to dust and ashes in his grasp. And upon them all he pronounces the sentence, *Vanity of vanities, all is vanity*.

Obviously therefore Ecclesiastes deals with matters of common interest, with questions that clamor for an answer in every age. Heart speaks to heart, life calls to life.

Solomon is represented as reviewing in his later years the events and experiences of a long life, recounting the high hopes and fond ambitions with which he set out on the

journey of life, the fruitless longings and strivings, the bitter disillusion and disappointment that followed, and the better way which he found at last. The power of books of this nature lies in their personal appeal. Solomon speaks not for himself alone, but for the great host of those whose lives like his are devoted to this eager quest. The poet Petrarch and St. Teresa may appear to have little in common, yet they both declare that in reading the Confessions of Augustine they seemed to be recalling the story of their own lives.

He begins by passing judgment on the world and all its works. The words come wailing down the centuries like the cry of a lost spirit, Vanity of vanities, all is vanity. In that mournful phrase he gathers up the fruit of his observation and experience. It has been taken up by great masters of our English speech. John Bunyan pictures Christian and Faithful passing through the town of Vanity, where is kept a fair, called Vanity Fair. Thackeray finds here the title of his greatest novel, and closes the book with the question that breathes the very spirit of Ecclesiastes: "Ah! Vanitas vanitatum. Which of us is happy in this world? Which of us has his desire, or having it is satisfied?—Come, children, let us shut up the box and the puppets, for our play is played out."

How does Solomon proceed to justify this sweeping judgment? He observes that endless and aimless repetition is the law of nature and of life, motion without progress. The sun, the wind, the waters alike illustrate this truth. "The sun also ariseth, and the sun goeth down, and hasteth to its place where it ariseth." "The wind goeth toward the south, and turneth about unto the north; it turneth about continually in its course, and the wind returneth again to its curcuits." "All the rivers run into the sea, yet the sea is not full; unto the place whither the rivers go, thither they go again." Nature presents the spectacle of incessant, fruitless toil, a weary Titan straining at impossible tasks. And the Preacher sees here the figure of hu-

man life. Sun and wind and rivers have all one message; All things are full of weariness; man cannot utter it." But nature has this advantage over man, that it abides eternal. "One generation goeth, and another generation cometh; and the earth abides forever." Nature in its steadfastness mocks the puny creature of an hour.

All things move in circles. Emerson repeats the thought, though his application of it is very different, in his essay entitled *Circles*. "The eye is the first circle; the horizon which it forms is the second; and throughout nature this primary picture is repeated without end. It is the highest emblem in the cipher of the world." And the old mystics carried the thought into the region of the Infinite and the Eternal, saying that God is a circle, whose centre is everywhere and whose circumference is nowhere.

The spirit of doubt and weariness, verging sometimes upon skepticism and sometimes upon despair, which is characteristic of Ecclesiastes, assumes different forms in different epochs and in different men. Sometimes it is bold, boastful, defiant. Shelley signed his name in the visitors' book of an inn, and added, democrat, philanthropist, atheist. Sometimes it is light and flippant, as in much of our current literature, turning all that is sacred to a jest, making faces at the heavens. Sometimes it is harsh, bitter, mocking, sarcastic, as in Voltaire and Heine. But the prevailing tone of doubt in our day, at least among earnest men, is profound sadness. For doubt fastens upon the most cherished hopes of mankind. On one side we are told that matter, which God created and pronounced very good, has no reality. It is only an idea, an illusion. On the other side we are told that matter alone is real, and spirit, as we have been accustomed to conceive it, has no existence. "The world is made of atoms and ether, and there is no room for ghosts." The hope of immortality is only a pleasing dream, from which man has at last been awakened by the rude hand of science. There is no longer room in the universe for God.

We need not wonder then that profound sadness is the prevailing tone of the skepticism of our time. Professor Clifford, the noted English mathematician, declared "There is no God"; and then exclaimed, "We have seen the spring sun shine out of an empty heaven to light up a soulless earth; we have felt with utter loneliness that the Great Companion is dead. Our children, it may be hoped, will know that sorrow only by the reflex light of a wondering compassion."

Pathetic are the words of Romanes at the close of the volume in which he renounced the faith of his childhood. "But now, in conclusion, I feel it is desirable to state that any antecedent bias with regard to theism which I individually possess is unquestionably on the side of traditional beliefs. It is, therefore, with the utmost sorrow that I find myself compelled to accept the conclusions here worked out,—and so far as the ruination of individual happiness is concerned, no one can have a more lively perception than myself of the possibly disastrous tendency of my work. So far as I am individually concerned, the result of this analysis has been to show that . . . it becomes my obvious duty to stifle all belief of the kind which I conceive to be the noblest, and to discipline my intellect with regard to this matter into an attitude of the purest skepticism. And forasmuch as I am far from being able to agree with those who affirm that the twilight doctrine of the 'new faith' is a desirable substitute for the waning splendor of the old, I am not ashamed to confess that with this virtual negation of God the universe to me has lost its soul of loveliness; and although from henceforth the precept to 'work while it is day' will doubtless but gain an intensified force from the terribly intensified meaning of the words that the night cometh, when no man can work; yet when at times I think, as think at times I must, of the appalling contrast between the hallowed glory of that creed which once was mine, and the lonely mystery of existence as now I find it—at such times I shall ever feel it impossible to avoid the sharp-

est pang of which my nature is susceptible. For whether it be due to my intelligence not being sufficiently advanced to meet the requirements of the age, or whether it be due to the memory of those sacred associations which to me at least were the sweetest that life has given, I cannot but feel that for me, and for others who think as I do, there is a dreadful truth in those words of Hamilton—Philosophy having become a meditation, not merely of death, but of annihilation, the precept ‘Know thyself’ has become transformed into the terrific oracle to Oedipus, ‘Mayest thou ne’er know the truth of what thou art.’ ”

Romanes too, like Solomon, found his way back to God, though by a different road, after the vain endeavor to sacrifice the instincts and aspirations of his moral nature to the processes of scientific inquiry. After citing these words of Romanes, Professor Rice tells us in his *Return to Faith* that “In the splendor of his scientific achievement, in his loss of faith, in the moral earnestness and intense sincerity which he never lost, in the agony of spiritual longing, and in the light at evening time, the story of Romanes is the story of that great half-century with which his life was nearly co-extensive.” (p. 20).

George Eliot is one of the greatest names in English literature. A friend has told us of a conversation he had with her, in which she spoke of the three great words which have been used so often as the inspiring trumpet-calls of men—God, Immortality, Duty—and declared with terrible earnestness how inconceivable was the first, how unbelievable the second, how peremptory and absolute the third. Surely this is enough to fill the soul with immeasurable sadness, to be without God and without hope, with only duty left us, duty borne without a helper and without an enduring reward.

One more witness may be summoned, a man who has moved the mirth of millions in every land beneath the sun. It is Mark Twain who says in his *Autobiography*, “A myriad men are born; they labor and sweat and struggle for

bread; they squabble and scold and fight; they scramble for little mean advantages over each other. Age creeps upon them; infirmities follow; shames and humiliations bring down their pride and their vanities; those they love are taken from them, and the joy of life is turned to aching grief. The burden of pain, care, misery grows heavier year by year; at length ambition is dead, pride is dead, vanity is dead, and longing for relief is in their place. It comes at last—the only unpoisoned gift earth ever had for them—and they vanish from the world, where they were a mistake and a failure and a foolishness—a world which will lament them for a day and then forget them forever. Then another myriad takes their place, and copies all they did, and goes along the same profitless road, and vanishes as they vanished, to make room for another, and another, and a million other myriads, to follow the same arid pass through the same desert, and accomplish what the first myriad, and all other myriads that came after it accomplished—nothing!” Of this spirit is born the philosophy called Pessimism, which maintains in effect that this is the worst of all possible worlds, and there is little reason to believe that it will ever be better. Strauss said in bitter mockery, “It must have been an ill-advised God, who could fall upon no better amusement than the transforming himself into such a hungry world as this, which is utterly miserable, and worse than none at all.” A man of distinction recently gathered up the teaching of pessimism in a phrase, when he said in conversation with a friend, “This is a hell of a world.” Life is a fitful fever, and death an eternal sleep.

Life then is one long process of disillusion. We set out with eager desires, high hopes, ambitions that soar above the stars. Soon we are undeceived. Hard experience robs us of our hopes, mocks our ambitions, and at last we return to mother earth as naked as we were born, and crumble again into the dust from which we were made. Let a man compare the visions of his youth with the achievements of his riper years, and mark how many of the blossoms of hope have turned to fruit.

We men are not free; freedom is an idle dream.

“We are no other than a moving row
Of magic shadowshapes that come and go
Round with the Sun—illumined Lantern held
In midnight by the Master of the Show.”

No moral responsibility rests upon us.

“Oh, thou, who didst with pitfall and with gin
Beset the Road I was to travel in,
Thou wilt not with Predestined Evil round
Enmesh, and then impute my Fall to Sin.

Oh, thou, who man of baser Earth didst make,
And ev’n with Paradise devise the Snake;
For all the Sin wherewith the Face of man
Is blackened—Man’s forgiveness give—and take!”

In this book of Ecclesiastes doubt is sad and troubled. Doubt and faith contend within the breast of Solomon like the Two Voices of Tennyson. “When I wrote that poem,” said Tennyson, “I was so utterly miserable—a burden to myself and my family—that I said, Is life worth living?”

The darkness is not unrelieved indeed. Now and then the clouds are lifted for a moment, but soon they settle down again, dark and lowering as before. There was in the heart of Solomon a dim hope of life beyond the grave, enough to keep him from despair, but not enough to bring peace to his distracted spirit. On one side is the instinct of immortality, and the hints and suggestions of life eternal which are found in the Scripture, especially in the Psalms of his father David; on the other side the stern fact confronts him that all things come alike to all. Wherein is man better than the beast? “For that which befalleth the sons of men befalleth beasts; even one thing befalleth them; as the one dieth, so dieth the other: yea, they have all

one breath; and man hath no preëminence above the beasts; for all is vanity. All go into one place, all are of the dust, and all turn to dust again. Who knoweth the spirit of man, whether it goeth upward, and the spirit of the beast whether it goeth downward to the earth?" But again, "The dust returneth to the earth as it was, and the spirit returneth to God who gave it." So is his spirit tossed about between hope and fear. Nature cannot give us an assured hope of life beyond the grave. When Socrates drew near to death, he said to his friends, "I have faith in the future, and I think I see the golden islands, but Oh that we had a stouter vessel or a stronger word." That has been called the most pathetic cry that has come down from the old world. And the teaching of the Old Scripture in comparison with the word of Him who brought life and immortality to light is as the twinkling of a single star shining dimly through the clouds to the radiance of the noonday sun.

In this weary and distracted world, burdened with sorrow and with sin, is there anything worth seeking, worth having? Anything that will still the cravings of the restless spirit, and bring peace to the troubled heart? What should be the chief object of man's desire and pursuit? To what end should life be directed and devoted? What is the chief end of man?

That is the problem that Solomon undertook to solve. Let us see how he entered upon the task, what methods he pursued, and what success he met with in his search.

II. The Problem Attempted.

He enumerates the various objects of desire and endeavor which he proposed to himself as the chief good.

A.—Wisdom. The word is used in various senses. What does he mean by wisdom here? Not the wisdom of the Proverbs, which begins with the fear of God and issues in a righteous life. Nor does he mean the practical sagacity and judgment which he needed for the proper discharge of his duties as king of Israel. For that he asked at Gi-

beon and God gave it to him abundantly. "Give thy servant therefore an understanding heart to judge thy people, that I may discern between good and evil" (1 Kings iii.9). What he has here in mind is Knowledge, the amassing of information of every kind, and that broadening and refining effect of it upon the character which we call culture. "I applied my heart to seek and to search out by wisdom concerning all that is done under heaven." In the search after wisdom, how did he prosper? The history records that God gave Solomon wisdom and understanding exceeding much, and largeness of heart, even as the sand that is on the seashore. And Solomon's wisdom excelled the wisdom of all the children of the East, and all the wisdom of Egypt. And he was wiser than all men." (1 Kings iv. 29, 31). And with what result? "And I applied my heart to know wisdom, and to know madness and folly; I perceived that this also was a striving after wind. For in much wisdom is much grief; and he that increaseth knowledge increaseth sorrow." (i. 17, 18.) And why this is true we may readily discover.

(a) The pursuit of wisdom involves toil and self-denial. The student must "scorn delights, and live laborious days." "Much study is a weariness of the flesh." (xii. 12.)

(b) Knowledge alone has nothing to satisfy the conscience or bring peace to the heart. The heights and depths of our nature it cannot touch.

(c) Increasing knowledge throws open to him a world of wrong, injustice, oppression, evils that he has no power to remedy. His heart grows hot with anger as he looks impotently on. And as he studies the works of men, he perceives that they are all vanity and striving after wind.

(d) With increase of knowledge comes a growing delicacy and refinement of feeling which makes men more susceptible alike of pleasure and of pain. "He that increaseth knowledge increaseth sorrow."

(e) How meager is the knowledge even of the most learned men. All things run out into mystery. Every ad-

vance in science that answers one question starts a score of others.

“Myself when young did eagerly frequent
Doctor and Saint, and heard great argument
About it, and about; but evermore
Came out by the same door where—in I went.

With them the seed of Wisdom did I sow,
And with mine own hand wrought to make it grow;
And this was all the Harvest that I reaped—
I came like Water, and like Wind I go.”

Faust exclaims, “I have now, alas! by zealous exertion, thoroughly mastered philosophy, the jurist’s craft, and medicine—and, to my sorrow, theology too. Here I stand, poor fool that I am, just as wise before.”

As the route of an army is marked by the cast-off impediments that strew the way, so we may trace the march of mankind down the centuries by broken systems, discarded philosophies, and outworn creeds of every kind, political, scientific, social, religious. Beecher said, “The test of a good institution is that it digs its own grave.”

(f) The knowledge that we acquire is soon lost. To this melancholy thought the Preacher returns again and again. The light of learning, however brightly it may shine for a season, is extinguished in the tomb. “The dead know not anything,” “There is no work, nor device, nor knowledge, nor wisdom, in Sheol, whither thou goest” (ix. 10). So unsatisfying is the pursuit of wisdom.

There are many of the wise and great who bear witness to the same effect. Few men since the days of Solomon have given themselves to the pursuit of wisdom with such ardor and devotion as Goethe. And with what result? Let him tell us himself: “I have ever been esteemed one of Fortune’s chiefest favorites,—nor will I complain or find fault with the course my life has taken. But truly there has been nothing but toil and care; and I may say that in

all my seventy-five years I have never had a month of genuine comfort. It has been the perpetual rolling of a stone, which I have always had to raise anew."

Or let us cite a more modern instance. One of the noted names in modern Philosophy is Herbert Spencer, of whom Bradley said that he has told us more about the Unknowable than the rashest of theologians has ever ventured to tell us about God. A volume of Reminiscences published a few years ago (1909), entitled *A Stepson of Fortune*, by Henry Murray, contains the account of a conversation which the author held with Mr. Spencer. "I told him—what a load of personal obligation I felt under to First Principles and added that I intended to devote the reading hours of the next two or three years to a thorough study of his entire output. 'What have you read of mine?' he asked. I told him—'Then,' said Spencer, 'I should say that you have read quite enough.' He fell silent for a moment, and then added, 'I have passed my life beating the air.'"¹

B. Then, like Faust, he turned to sensual pleasure. His blood was hot, his passions were strong. The world lay at his feet. He gave free rein to appetite. "Whatsoever mine eyes desired I kept not from them, I withheld not my heart from any joy." He put to the test the philosophy of Omar.

"Up from Earth's Centre through the Seventh Gate
I rose and on the Throne of Saturn sate,
And many a knot unravel'd by the Road;
But not the master-knot of Human Fate.

"Then to the Lip of this poor Earthen Urn
I lean'd, the secret of my Life to learn;
And Lip to Lip it murmur'd—While you live,
Drink,—for, once dead, you never shall return.

¹ Quoted in this REVIEW, April, 1916, p. 294.

"Perplex no more with Human or Divine,
Tomorrow's tangle to the winds resign,
And lose your fingers in the tresses of
The Cypress—slender minister of Wine.

"Waste not your hour, nor in the vain pursuit
Of this and that endeavor and dispute;
Better be jocund with the fruitful Grape,
Than sadden after none, or bitter, Fruit.

"Come, fill the Cup, and in the fire of Spring
Your Winter-garments of Repentance fling;
The Bird of Time has but a little way
To flutter—and the Bird is on the Wing."

It is the old story, "Let us eat and drink, for tomorrow we die." "Carpe diem."

"Gather ye rosebuds while ye may;
Old Time is still a-flying;
And this same flower that smiles today
Tomorrow will be dying.

"That age is best, which is the first,
When youth and blood are warmer;
But, being spent, the worse, and worst
Times still succeed the former."

Solomon gathered about him all that heart could wish, surrounded himself with all the charms and pleasures of life. For a time he drank of the cup with delight. Every nerve thrilled responsive to the call of beauty. He wandered through his splendid palaces, and the gardens whose size and beauty moved the wonder of the world; dallied with the women of his harem, the three score queens, and fourscore concubines, and virgins without number of the Song of Songs, and cheered his flesh with wine. The cup was sweet, but the dregs were bitter. Satiety and loathing

seized upon his. "I said in my heart, Come now, I will prove thee with mirth; therefore enjoy pleasure: and, behold, this also was vanity. I said of laughter, It is mad; and of mirth, What doeth it?"

In its grosser forms sensual pleasure defiles and destroys, calls out and strengthens the bestial instincts and impulses of our nature.

"It hardens a' within
And petrifies the feeling."

Even in their most innocent forms pleasures that appeal to bodily appetite alone soon lose their power to charm. The edge of desire is blunted, passion cools with the progress of the years. The ardor of youth abates and declines. Whatever belongs to the physical side of life is of narrow range and short duration.

When the evil day came, and time had worn down the sharpness of his passion, he said, I have no pleasure in them. Solomon in his palace was more wretched than Job on his ash-heap. And this is the moral of his experience: "Rejoice, O young man, in thy youth, and let thy heart cheer thee in the days of thy youth, and walk in the ways of thy heart, and in the sight of thine eyes; (as I have done); but know thou that for all these things God will bring thee into judgment."

C. Then he tried labor. He will forget himself, lose himself, in his work. From ignoble pleasures he will turn to those kingly duties which have been neglected. He will make himself the servant of the state. This will bring him honor, peace, satisfaction. In this he will find the true end and aim of life.

The gospel of labor is preached with vigor in our time. Carlyle tells us, "The latest gospel in this world is Know thy work and do it." But whether work is altogether admirable or not depends upon the motive, the spirit, the purpose that underlie and direct it, the end it seeks. The devil too is busy. Solomon discovered that the work which

he did in order to enrich or gratify himself could not bring him the satisfaction that he craved. It lays upon men heavy burdens, and yields little return. What is gained? Wealth? It is unsatisfying, and is soon lost.

“If thou art rich, thou art poor;
For like the ass whose back with ingots bows,
Thou bear’st thy heavy riches but a journey,
And death unloads thee.”

Fame? It is empty breath. And envy follows it like a shadow. “Then I saw all labor and every skilful work, that for this a man is envied of his neighbor. This also is vanity and a striving after wind.” Power? But how little it can accomplish. “I saw under the sun in the place of justice, that wickedness was there: and in the place of righteousness that wickedness was there” (iii. 16). “Then I returned and saw all the oppressions that are done under the sun; and, behold, the tears of such as were oppressed, and they had no comforter; and on the side of their oppressors there was power; but they had no comforter” (iv. 1). And in the light of his experience Solomon was prepared to say with Samuel Johnson—

“How small, of all that human hearts endure,
The part which laws, or kings, can cause or cure.”

And in the midst of his labor this thought strikes him to the heart—“I hated all my labor wherein I labored under the sun, seeing that I must leave it to the man that shall be after me. And who knoweth whether he will be a wise man or a fool? Yet will he have rule over all my labor wherein I have labored, and wherein I have showed myself wise under the sun. This also is vanity. Therefore I turned about to cause my heart to despair concerning all the labor wherein I had labored under the sun. For there is a man whose labor is with wisdom, and with knowledge, and with skillfulness; yet to a man that hath not labored therein shall he leave it for his portion. This also is vanity

and a great evil" (ii. 18-21). "Surely every man walketh in a vain show; surely they are disquieted in vain; he heapeth up riches, and knoweth not who shall gather them" (Ps. xxxix. 6). There was one who said, "Soul, thou has much goods laid up for many years." And God said, "Thou foolish one, this night is thy soul required of thee; and the things thou hast prepared, whose shall they be?" Whose shall they be—the courts of every land in Christendom are busy with that question.

He must leave his work to others, and his successor may be a fool, who will bring to naught in an hour the labors of a life-time. And this foreboding was fulfilled in Rehoboam, through whose pride and folly the kingdom was rent asunder. The wisest of men has a fool for a son and heir.

This phase of Solomon's experience is illustrated by the life of John Stuart Mill, a man of wide learning, of unsullied character, of enviable reputation, of eminent public service. This is his confession:—"I put the question to myself: Suppose that all your objects in life were realized, would this be a great joy and happiness to you? And an irrepressible self-consciousness distinctly answered, 'No.' At this my heart sank. All my happiness was to have been sought in the continual pursuit of this end. The end had ceased to charm, and how could there ever again be any interest in the means? I seemed to have nothing left to live for."

Thus the Preacher tried wisdom and sensual pleasure and labor, with the rewards that follow it, and found that none of them could yield the peace and satisfaction that he sought. Upon each of them he writes the epitaph, *Vanity of vanities*. As the book is chiefly the record of these vain attempts, the prevailing tone of it is profoundly sad. Doubt and disappointment are the fruit of his experience. The world was his, he used it, used it to the full, and found it bare and empty to his soul. "Too low they build who build beneath the stars."

III. The Problem Solved.

Lacordaire, the great French preacher, said, "Melancholy is inseparable from every mind that looks below the surface, and every heart that feels profoundly. It is a malady that enervates when we do not shake it off and it has but two remedies, Death or God."

That has been the fatal defect in Solomon's search thus far—he has left God out of the account. Augustine clothes the ultimate truth in its final form when he declares, "Thou hast made us for thyself, and our hearts are restless until they find rest in thee." If Solomon's quest ended here, it would be the saddest story ever told. Shall so great wisdom come to naught, such high powers accomplish nothing, a life so richly furnished run to waste? Omar has painted the close of a life devoted to the pursuit of earthly ends.

"The Wordly Hope men set their Hearts upon
Turns ashes—or it prospers; and anon,
Like Snow upon the desert's dusky Face,
Lighting a little hour or two—was gone.

A moment's Halt—a momentary taste
Of Being from the Well amid the Waste—
And lo!—the phantom Caravan has reached
The Nothing it set out from—Oh, make haste."

But this is not all. From the rich stores of his experience, as the great lesson of his life, Solomon draws two words of counsel for the young—Rejoice, Remember. Enjoy the life that God gives you, but remember the reckoning. You shall give account to him.

After long wandering the weary old man returns to the God of his fathers. In all ages of the church it has been questioned whether Solomon should be reckoned among the saved or lost. A picture in Florence represents him rising slowly from the tomb at the sound of the last trump, uncertain whether he shall take his place at the right hand of the Judge or at the left. But the word spoken of him in

Samuel vii. 14, 15, seems to be conclusive of the matter: "I will be his father, and he shall be my son; if he commit iniquity, I will chasten him with the rod of men, and with the stripes of the children of men; but my loving kindness shall not depart from him, as I took it from Saul." By the weary road of doubt and disappointment and repentance he found his way home at last.

We may find a parallel to this experience of Solomon in the words of the German poet Heine, long a skeptic and a scoffer. In his will he wrote, "For four years I have renounced all philosophic pride, and have returned to religious ideas and feelings. I die in the belief of one only God, the eternal creator, whose pity I implore for my immortal soul."

This is the conclusion of the whole matter, to which he has come through hard and bitter experience; "Fear God, and keep his commandments for this is the whole duty of man."

Let the Preacher teach us that man is wretched without God, though he have the world for his portion. Made in God's image, living in God's world, subject to God's law, blessed by God's bounty, guarded by God's care, redeemed by God's Son, visited by God's Spirit, answerable before God's judgment seat, man is incurably religious. "What shall it profit a man if he gain the whole world, and lose his own soul?" That question Jesus propounded nineteen hundred years ago, and it has never been answered. The book is unspeakably sad, because it portrays a man seeking the end of his being apart from God. He came to God at last, but think of the long and fruitless search, the barren years, the wasted powers, the lost opportunities. The great king entered heaven at last, we may believe, but saved so as by fire. Surely it is the part of wisdom to begin our search where his search ended, with God. "For God will bring every work into judgment, with every hidden thing, whether it be good, or whether it be evil."

Princeton.

J. RITCHIE SMITH.

THE AUTHENTICITY OF JONAH

ARTICLE I.

In this and succeeding articles it is the intention of the author to investigate the premises of the Higher Criticism of the Old Testament, especially in the sphere of philology. Many of these premises were propounded in the 18th century and have long been so venerable because of their age and the use that has been made of them by successive generations of Biblical critics, that one feels like a Vandal in attempting to assail their supposedly firm foundations. Nevertheless, the war will be carried into Africa and if possible Carthage itself will be destroyed. The weapons will be the grammars, concordances, and dictionaries, especially of the Semitic languages, the ancient versions of the Scriptures, and the literary products of any age with which the writer is acquainted. As far as in him lies, the author will keep himself out of sight. It will be a real logomachy and a battle of the books; but it will be an offensive-defensive and a counter attack with all the force that can be mustered. No opprobrious names will be called and no intentionally unfair advantage will be taken. The object is to confirm those who still believe in the trustworthiness of the divine oracles and to convince and convert the wavering and the disbelieving; and to do all this fairly, logically, and scientifically. If the writer fails in his attempt, his conviction is that the failure will be due, not to the weakness of his cause, nor to the paucity of the resources at his command, nor to the strength of the opponent's position; but to some defect in his plan, or mishandling of his material.

The method to be pursued in these articles will be to state in their own words the premises of the critics and the evidence given in support of their premises; then, to present further evidence tending to show that the premises are not justified by the evidence that has been produced in their favor; and lastly, to state the conclusions which seem to follow from the evidence.

This article is one of two treating of the objections to the authenticity of the book of Jonah.

I. THE OBJECTIONS STATED.

On page 322 of Dr. Driver's *Literature of the Old Testament*, it is said that the Book of Jonah cannot "have been written until long after the life time of Jonah himself." This is said to appear first of all "from the style, which has several Aramaisms, or other marks of a later age." These marks are the following words:

"(1) ספינה 1:5 [*deck or ship*].

(2) התעשת 1:6 "*to think*" (= Heb. חשב, Isa. 40:18)
cf. עשתנת Ps. 146:4."

(3) ש for אשר 1:7, 8.

(4) שתק 1:11, 12 Prov. 26:20, Ps. 107:30.

(5) מזה 2:1, "*to prepare, set apart*" as Dan. 1:10, 11.
I Ch. 9:29 and in Aramaic.

(6) טעם 3:7 [*decree*] as in Aramaic, Ezr. 6:14, 7:23.

(7) עמל 4:10 "*to labor*" 4:10 (in ordinary Hebrew יגע).

(8) באשר למי 1:8 *on account of what to whom*, "for whose cause."

(9) The title "God of heaven" as in Neh. 1:5 and other post-exilic writers."

Of these marks De Wette-Schrader in their *Introduction to the Old Testament*¹ give six marks that are the same as those in L. O. T. and add six; to-wit; (10) רב 1:6, (11) רבו 4:11, (12) העביר 3:6, (13) ל 4:6, and (14) קרא 1:2, 3:2.

Cornill² gives five marks, that are the same as Driver's and three that differ from his; whereas he agrees in four with De Wette-Schrader and adds three new ones. Cornill, De Wette-Schrader and Driver agree only in four marks, i.e. in the words for "ship," "think," "prepare" and in the use

¹ *Lehrbuch der historisch-kritischen Einleitung in die kanonischen und apokryphischen Bücher des Alten Testaments*, p. 464.

² *Introduction to the Canonical Books of the Old Testament*, 351.

of the relative. The words added by Cornill are: (15) **זשב ל** 1:4, (16) **קריאה** 3:2, and (17) **טעם** "to taste" 3:7.

II. THE EVIDENCE.

The evidence given above will be examined in the order of the specifications.

1. *Sefina* is a noun from the root **ספן** found six times in the Old Testament in the sense of *cover*, to-wit, in De. 33:22, Je. 22:14, I K. 7:3, 7, 6:9, and Hab. 1:4—all in what the critics call the older literature. Jonah apparently preserves the correct derivative form of the word and means by it a part of the ship that is covered, i.e. the covered part, or "below decks." For ship he employs **אניה** in 1:3, 4, 5 the ordinary word in the Old Testament for ship, being found thirty-two times in all. In Gen. 49:13 and Deut. 28:68, Onkelos renders it by *sefina*. The Pseudo-Jonathan has *sefina* in Gen. 49:13, and *'ilpa* in Deut. 28:68. The Syriac uses *'elpa* as well as *sefina*. The former comes from the Babylonian *ilpu* and the latter probably from the Hebrew *safan*. "to cover," or a Phenician equivalent. Its original sense, therefore, would be a decked or covered ship. The root *sefan* is not found in Syriac and in the Aramaic of the Targums and Talmud it means (to quote Dalman) *achten, befruchtet, gereinigt*. It is found several times in the Sachau papyri.

Hence, derivation, use and time of its employment elsewhere all favor its independent origin in Hebrew and permit its employment in the lifetime of Jonah as well as in 500 or 300 B.C.

2. **התעשת** 1:5 "to think" is found but here in the Old Testament, though its derivative is found in Ps. 146:4. The root does not occur in Assyrian, Syriac, Mandaic, or Arabic. It is only found in Aramaic in the three dialects which were used by Jews who adopted Aramaic, e.g. in the Targum of Jonathan on the Prophets and in the Aramaic of

the Egyptian papyri.³ It would seem from this that the word, with scores of other good Hebrew words, was probably taken over from the Hebrew into the Aramaic by the Jews. The word does not occur at all in Syriac, though that language has sixteen different words to express the idea of thinking. Jewish Aramaic employs it but very seldom and has four other words to denote the idea. New Hebrew does not have the word at all. The common word in Aramaic, as in Heb., is חשב. What the differentiation between the two words may have been we do not know. The Targum of Onkelos never uses עשת; but renders חשב eighteen times by the same word, three times by 'illif and once by dîn. The Samaritan Targum always transliterates the Hebrew חשב, and never uses Jonah's word. In the Sachau papyri we find also *hekam* and *istekal* in the sense "to think."

3. As to the use of ש before 700 B.C. to denote the relative pronoun, the following may be said:

- (1) It is not Aramaic, never being found in any dialect, age, or document, except twice in the inscription of Nerab from the 7th century B.C.⁴
- (2) It is the usual relative in Assyrio-Babylonian from the earliest document to the latest.
- (3) If we follow the critics in their dating of the component parts of the Old Testament, it is found in Jud. 5, which they usually call the earliest document in the Old Testament and in Ecclesiastes, which they commonly date as one of the latest,⁵ and in Gen. 6:3, which belongs to J (*id.* 43) and in Gen. 49:10 which Driver gives to J.⁶

³ Thus in the Sachau papyri, p. 151. "(My son) whom I have nurtured, *think* (עשת) on me."; p. 157, "do as thou *thinkest*" (active stem); p. 4, "If it seems good to our lord, *think* (אתעשת) upon the temple and build it."

⁴ Lidzbarski: *Nordsemitische Epigraphik*, 371, 445, and *Ephemeris* I 366.

⁵ Cornill: *Introduction* pp. 160 and 452.

⁶ L. O. T. p. 17.

- (4) If we follow the traditional view of the date of the books, it is found in the Pent., Jud., Kings, Eccles., Song, Psalms, Job, Chron. and Ezra.⁷
- (5) It is the usual relative in the Hebrew of the Talmud, having almost completely displaced אשר.⁸
- (6) It is found at times in Phenician in place of the more usual אש.⁹
- (7) According to all the evidence, therefore, אש may have been used in any Hebrew document from the earliest to the latest, and is actually

⁷ אש is found in Gen. 6:3 and 49:10, both attributed by the critics to J., whose date they all place before 750 B.C. It is found also in Jud. 5:7 (which is considered by many to be the earliest, or among the earliest, compositions in the Old Testament) and in Jud. 6:17, 7:32, 7:26, and in 2K.6:11, Job 19:29, Song of Songs 1:6, 7, 5:2, 6:5, Lam. 2:15, 16, 4:9, 5:18, Ezra 8:10, 1 Chron. 5:20, 27:27, Pss. 122:3, 4, 123:2, 124:1, 2, 6, 129:6, 7, 133:2, 3, 135:2, 8, 10, 136:23, 137:8, 9, 144:15, and 146:3, 5 and 68 times in Ecclesiastes. It does not occur in the Hebrew of Ecclesiasticus nor in that of the Zadokite Fragments; nor in Daniel or Esther; nor in Psalms 44, 74 and 79, which the critics generally think to be from the Maccabean times; nor in Psalms 54, 55, 60, 62, 64, 71, 76, 77, 86, 88, 89, 90, 98, 102, 116, 118, 142, 143, nor in any of the others which Reuss assigns to the Maccabean period and in only five of those that Cheyne assigns to the same time. If those writers of the Old Testament books could only have shown some consistency in the use of this little relative, how easy it might have been to determine the date of the document by means of its evidence; or, if the critics could only agree to put either early or late all documents having it; or if those provoking Assyrians, Babylonians, Phenicians, Carthaginians and Nerabites had never used it at all, or had all of them used it always! It seems that with the evidence before us at present we must admit that no argument from the use of אש can be made as to the *date* of a document. It may indicate that a document was written under Northern Palestinian or Assyrian influences. The idiosyncrasy of the writer, metre and poet's license, may account for its frequent use in Ecclesiastes and in some of the psalms. One might be pardoned for suggesting that there may be some humor in the changes in the text, the author wishing to exhibit the differences between the Hebrew and the Phenician; or it may represent the serious attempt of two foreigners to make themselves understood.

⁸ See article on Mishnaic Hebrew by Rev. Moses Segal in the *Jewish Quarterly Review*, vol. xx. 659.

⁹ Lidzbarski, *Nordsemitische Epigraphik*, p. 227 and *Ephemeris* I, 360, 366, II, 410.

found in documents of all ages. *Why* it has been used in such an erratic manner, cannot be explained. *That* it has been so used is certain; and hence that its use in any given document cannot determine the date of that document, is also certain.

- (8) As to the phrase **למי באשר**¹⁰ several pertinent remarks may be made:

(a) The whole sentence purports to be a quotation of what the sailors said to Jonah. These sailors may have been Jews, or Phenicians, or Cypriote, or Greeks; but it may justly be concluded that like sailors in general they were uneducated men and that like Marryatt's and Cooper's tars, they had their own peculiar lingo. It is not necessary to suppose that they spoke the language of the prophets and of the recorders of the royal archives in which the books like Hosea and the Kings are written.

(b) What is said makes good sense: "On account of what (or whom) is this evil to us?" No one certainly can misunderstand it. It is admitted that such a phrase is found nowhere else in the Old Testament; but neither is the idea. And if the idea is not found elsewhere, will some one of the critics of Jonah, or of the sailors, tell us how it could be expressed better? It is clear, precise, and suitable to the situation.

- (9) The other phrase meaning the same thing, viz. **בשלמי**, is probably the language of the author. At any rate, it is a variation such as we often find in all dialectic dialogues.

- (10) As to the **ש** in chapter 4:7, its use may have been due to the fact that Jonah was imitating the Assyrian usage. At the time he was overlooking

¹⁰ See number 8 below.

Nineveh and waiting for its anticipated doom. Besides, he must have known Assyrian, or he would scarcely have been able to preach to the Ninevites. Like many modern critics, he may have shown his *amour propre* by showing that he was a *connoisseur* of Assyrian and no mere *ciceroni* or *dragoman*.

4. שֶׁתַּק is found in the Old Testament outside of Jonah only in Prov. 26:20, Ps. 107:30. In neither of these places is it used in connection with the sea. As to the use of the word as an indication of the age of a document, Prov. 26:20 belongs to the proverbs that were transcribed by the men of Hezekiah and which Dr. Driver says "were reputed in Hezekiah's age to be ancient."¹¹ Since Hezekiah was born about the time that Jonah died, we leave it to the critics to show how a word used in a document reputed to be old in Hezekiah's age could not have been used in the lifetime of Jonah.¹²

It is to be observed, further, that Jon. 1:11, 12 is the only place where the idea of the sea being at rest is ever mentioned in the Old Testament, although the word for sea occurs 362 times and its plural 30 times. It is evident, therefore, that no one can know that *šathak* was not at all times the proper word in Hebrew to express the quieting of the sea after a storm.

5. כִּנָּה occurs twenty-five times in the Old Testament. In its meaning "to number, measure, reckon" it is found eleven times, viz. Gen. 13:16 *bis*, Num. 23:10, Is. 53:12, Jer. 33:13, 2Sa. 24:1, Dan. 5:28, 2Ch. 5:5, Ecc. 1:15, Ps. 89:13, and Ps. 146:5. In the sense of "prepare, apportion, set apart, or appoint" it occurs eleven times also, viz. Jer. 2:1, 4:6, 7, 8, 1 Chron. 9:29, and Dan. 1:5, 10, 11, 2:24, 49 and

¹¹ L. O. T. p. 407.

¹² It is singular that the Aramaic versions of Jonah do not render this verb by *shathak* but the Targum of Jonathan by the Aphel of *nûh* and the Peshitto by the Peal of *shelâ*. The Arabic renders it by *sakana*. *šathak* is found in the Sachau papyrus, p. 116:11 in the sense of keeping silence.

3:12. In other senses, it is found in Job 7:3, Is. 65:11 and IK. 20:25. It will be observed:

- (1) That it occurs in the second sense only in works admittedly written under Assyrian and Babylonian influences.
- (2) The word is used in Assyrian in the second sense long before the time of Jonah exactly as it is employed in Jonah and Daniel.¹³
- (3) It is not true that in the late works of the Old Testament it crowded out, or took the place of צוה and פקד; for the former is used in Chronicles 17 times; Ezra-Nehemiah, 10; Esther, 7; Prv., 14; Lev.-Num., 70; and the latter in Chronicles 8 times; Ezra-Nehemiah, once; Esther, once; Prov., 9; and Lev.-Num., '2. Whereas מנה occurs in Chronicles twice; Ezra-Nehemiah, no time; Esther, no time; Prv. two times; and Lev.-Num., once only, and that in the Balaam passage. In the Hebrew of Ecclesiasticus from 180 B.C. צוה is found six times, פקד nine times, and מנה three times, once perhaps in the sense of appoint. In the Zadokite-Fragments from a work written about 40 A.D., צוה occurs eleven times; פקד, eleven; and מנה never occurs at all, in any sense.
- (4) That Jonah and Daniel, under the influence of Aramaic, used מנה where the earlier Hebrew would have used צוה (as Dr. Driver asserts in L.O.T. 506) hardly seems possible in view of the fact that the translators of the Aramaic versions of the Pentateuch never render the latter by the former. The Aramaic *pekad* corresponded to the Hebrew צוה and is always used for it in Onkelos, and apparently in the other Targums, and in the Peshitto.

¹³ Thus "thou hast allotted disease" (ZA, V. 67, 42 *tumannima murša*) "whom the king had designated" (ZA, VI. 234, 11 *sha sharru . . . umannu*.)

- (5) Nor is it fair to say that Jonah uses מנה instead of an earlier פקד and that this is a sign of late date or of Aramaic influence. Whatever opinion we may hold with regard to the scholarship of the translators of the Old Testament into Aramaic, no one will be rash enough to say that they did not know the meaning of common Hebrew and Aramaic terms much better than is possible for the best of us today. Now, if Jonah used *mana* in the Aramaic sense, is it not remarkable that here in Jonah 2:1, and 4:6, 7, 8 the Targum of Jonathan should have rendered it by *zammen* to prepare, as we find it also in Jerome? The Syriac version has *tayyeb* in 2:1 and *pekad* in 4:7, 8, 9, reversing what Dr. Driver asserts with regard to the two words. Apparently, these translators thought that Jonah's *mana* did not exactly correspond to their conception of what the Aramaic *mana* meant.
- (6) If we take the three verbs in the meanings "to command," "to oversee," and "to set apart," the distinction of synonyms in the writers of Old Testament Hebrew will be found to be clear and appropriate, whether the literature be early or late. According to Jonah, God "set apart" or "designated" a great fish to swallow Jonah, and he set apart a particular gourd to spring up and shelter him, and a worm and a dry east wind to smite it. Is not this more beautiful and appropriate than the more stately words for command and appoint especially when we are dealing with gourds, worms, and fish?

6. טעם is a common verb in Syriac in both the simple and causative stems, active and passive, and has at least nine derivatives in use; but in no case does it appear in the sense of decree or command. The same is true of the Arabic, the Mandaean (at least in Norberg) and of the Sa-

maritan Targum and Onkelos. Levy, in his *Dictionary to the Targums and Talmud* gives no example of its use in the sense of decree. Nor is it found in any Phenician or Aramaic inscription. In the Biblical Aramaic a noun from this verb is used twenty-six times in the sense of decree. This, also, is its uniform meaning in the papyri from the colony of Jews at Elephantine. This meaning of the word seems to have been derived chiefly from the *usus loquendi* of the Assyrians. It is noteworthy that the Assyrians have the noun in the sense of command but not in that of taste; neither does the verb seem to have been used by them.

It will be noted, further, that the verb is found in 1Sa. 14:24, 29, 43 and 2Sa. 3:25, 19:36, in the same sense as in Jonah 4:7, and that the noun in the sense of *command* is found in the Old Testament only in those works which are written under Assyrian or Babylonian influence, i.e. nine times in Daniel, nineteen in Ezra, and once in Jonah 4:7. In the Aramaic dialects and documents, also, it is found only in those written under Babylonian influence. The Aramaic-speaking Jewish colony at Elephantine in Egypt was founded before the time of Cambyses, perhaps by Nebuchadnezzar himself. At any rate, the number of names of Babylonian origin found in the papyri indicates that at some time the Jews of the colony had been under Babylonian dominion and influence. The noun in the sense of *command* occurs in the Sachau papyri in three places; first on page 44, line 22, of Sachau's work: Your ship-carpenters shall make the ship as the *command* has been made (*šim*); secondly in line 25 where the last clause of the preceding sentence recurs: and thirdly, on page 63: No further *command* will be given them (lit., *put to them*).

7. Dr. Driver asserts that the use of עָמַל in 4: to indicates a late date and that the older Hebrew would have used יָנַע. There is absolutely no proof in support of such an assertion; but the evidence shows that the author of Jonah used the only Hebrew word that would exactly express his

meaning. The Hebrew has four words for "to work." The most general is עָשָׂה "to do or make," which is used in a few cases in the special sense of "work or labor," as in Ex. 5:9: "Let heavier work be laid upon the men that they may *labor* therein." Ex. 5:9 belongs to J (LOT 23) which dates before 750 B.C. (LOT 120). This sense is found also in Neh. 4:15. A second and more special term for work or labor is עָבַד, used also in J, as in Gen. 2:5, 15, 3:23, 4:2, 11, Ex. 5:18 and in E in Ex. 20:9, Prov. 12:11, 28:19, Is. 19:9, 30:24, Zech. 13:5, Ezek. 36:9, 34, 2 Chron. 2:18. The third, more specific still, is עָבַל. It is used in Prov. 16:26 which is in the part of Proverbs which is "generally referred to the golden days of the monarchy" (LOT, 405). It is found, also, in Ps. 137:1 and eight times in Ecclesiastes. The fourth word is יָנַע which is the most special of all and always involves the idea of weariness, or exhaustion. It is found in Prov. 23:4 and Jos. 7:3 (JE) only, of the works which the critics place in the period before 700 B.C. (LOT, 106, and 405). In the period from 700 B.C. to the end of the captivity it occurs in Jos. 24:13, 2Sa. 23:10, Hab. 2:13, Jer. 45:5 and 51:58, Lam. 5:5, and twelve times in Is. 40-66. In the actual or alleged post-captivity literature, it is found in Mal. 2:17 *bis*, Ecc. 10:15, Job 9:29 and Pss. 6:6 and 69:3. The conclusion from the above induction of facts is that every one of the four verbs was used in each of the three periods into which the Hebrew literature is divided by the critics.

If we examine the use of the nouns for work, we find that the same is true. מַעֲשֵׂה occurs in Hosea, Amos, Micah, in Jeremiah, and Ezekiel; in Haggai, Chronicles, the Psalms, and in nearly every other work. עֲבֹדָה in the sense of work is found, among other places, in Gen. 30:26 (J) and 29:27 (E), in Is. 28:21; and in Ps. 104:23; and in Neh. 3:5, 10:37. עָבָל is found in Gen. 41:51 (E), Num. 23:21 (?), Deut. 26:7, Jud. 10:16, Prov. 24:2, 31:7, Is. 10:1, 53:11, 59:4, Hab. 13:13, Jer. 20:18, and eight times in Job, four-

teen times in the Psalms, and twenty-two times in Ecclesiastes. יניע is found in Gen. 31:42 (E) and Hos. 12:8 from the early period; in Deut. 28:33, Jer. 3:24, 20:5, Ezek. 23:29, and Is. 45:14, 55:2 from the middle period; and in Hag. 1:11, Neh. 5:13, Job 10:3, 39:11, 16 and Pss. 78:46, 109:11 and 128:2 from the late period. All four verbs, or derivatives of the same, appear in the Hebrew of Ecclesiasticus. The noun עמל is found two or three times and יניע and יניע five times. Ben Sira distinguishes the two nouns in 11:11 when he says: "The labor (עמל) of the rich is to acquire wealth, and the overwork (יניע) of the poor is for the needs of his family." In the Zadokite fragments verbs and nouns from the first two are found and יניע occurs twice; but עמל does not occur, either as noun or verb.

Singularly, the last two of these roots are found in Assyrian but not the first; and the second only in borrowed terms. In Arabic the second and third are common and used in a sense similar to that employed in Hebrew, and the fourth has the meaning "to be in pain." In Syriac the second and third are common but the first and last do not occur. In Mandaic only the second is found in Norberg. In the Aramaic inscriptions, the verb עמל occurs only in the *Building Inscription*, from the time of Tiglath-Pileser III, who began to reign in 746 B.C. In the Sachau papyrus 55:2 we find both verb and noun עמל in the sentence: "I have heard of the *labor* which thou hast *done*."

From the above data it will be seen:

- (1) That any writer of Hebrew might have properly used any one of the four verbs or nouns for *work* at any period of the literature.
- (2) That the word to which objection is made is the only one of the four that is found in Assyrian, Arabic, Aramaic and Hebrew. It was therefore, a primitive Semitic word and no argument as to the date of a document can be based on it; nor can it be said that one of the above four great families of Semitic languages borrowed it from the other.

- (3) Even if it had been borrowed from the Aramaic by Jonah, it could have been borrowed as early as the middle of the eighth century, as the Bar Rekeb building inscription shows.
- (4) That Dr. Driver's assertion that older Hebrew would have used ינע and later Hebrew עמל is controverted by the fact that Ecclesiasticus uses the former five times, thrice in the noun form and twice as a verb and the latter but three times: and by the fact that the Zadokite Fragments use ינע twice, but have not the other word at all.
- (5) That the Targums of Onkelos and the Pseudo-Jonathan do not transliterate עמל (except Onkelos in Gen. 41:12) but render it by some form of לאה or סנה showing that the translators considered that the Aramaic word with the same radicals did not correspond exactly with the original Hebrew.
- (6) Jonah may have labored at a gourd as the book says, but he could scarcely have become exhausted or weary with the exercise, as Dr. Driver implies.

8. באשר למי, "for whose cause"—See under 3, above.

9. The phrase "god of heaven" is not a sign of a late date. We must remember that Jonah uses the phrase in an answer to the presumably Phenician sailors who had asked him to call upon his god 1:6, 8, and questioned him as to who he himself was. He replied: 1:9: "A Hebrew am I, and Jehovah the God of the heavens I revere, who made the sea and the dry land." The Phenicians worshipped בעלשםם "the Lord of Heaven."¹⁴ In the Tel-el-Amarna letters Ishtar is called the "mistress of heaven."¹⁵ Tiglath Pileser I (1100 B.C.) speaks of Shamash the judge of heaven¹⁶ and the phrase "gods of heaven" is found in the Sumerian texts¹⁷. Under the circumstances in which Jonah

¹⁴ Lidzbarski: *Nordsemitische Epigraphik*, pp. 153, 39.

¹⁵ Winckler: *Tell-el-Amarna Letters*, No. 20:26.

¹⁶ Lotz: *Tiglath-Pileser I.* 7.

¹⁷ See Muss-Arnolt under *Shamū*.

was placed, who could have made a more sensible and conspicuous response to the question of the sailors?

10. רב החבל 1:6. This is the only place in which a captain of a ship is mentioned in the Old Testament. חבל occurs five times in Ezekiel's account of Tyre, so that no argument from the date can be made from this *hapax legomenon*. *Rab* is used in the O. T. in the sense of captain in the Assyrian title *rabsaris*, 2 Kgs. 18:17 and *rab tabbāhim* 2 Kgs. 25:8 and perhaps also in 2 Sa. 23:20 of the chief of the workmen. In Assyrian *rab mallahe* chief of the sailors is found, as also in the Syriac version (*rab mallehe*). The Targum Jonathan has *rab sappane*.

11. רבו for myriad is found in Hos. 23:7 from the 8th century B.C.

12. העביר is found nowhere else in the O. T. nor in Aramaic, nor in Assyrian, in connection with a word for clothing. It is found in I Kings 15:12 in connection with *Sodomites* and in 2 Ch. 15:8 with idols; and frequently of the taking away of sins.

13. ל 4:6 introducing the accusative is found no where else with the verb used by Jonah except in Dan. 8:7 where it occurs with the participle. The employment of this ל before the pronominal object is not necessary in Aramaic, since in Dan. 3:29, and 6:15 the object is affixed to the infinitive. In the Psalms, which critics place late, at least 33 cases of the verb with the object occur and no one of them employs ל with the object. It is passing strange that such a reminiscer as Jonah is said to have been should have departed from all his predecessors and contemporaries in such a matter. As to Jonah's having imitated Daniel, it is clear that to have been imitated Daniel must have been written first. Therefore, if Jonah hails from the 5th century, Daniel must be at least a little earlier. Or, if Daniel was written in the 2nd century (to be exact, according to the critics, in June 164 B.C. or thereabout), then, Jonah must have been written at the earliest after 164 B.C. But as, according to the critics the canon of the prophets was closed before the

writing of Ecclesiasticus i.e. at about 180 B.C., and since Ecclesiasticus mentions the Twelve as existing when he wrote, the theory of the critics as to the close of the prophetic canon would fall. One is tempted to think that in both Jonah and Daniel the ל has been doubled by dittography in the process of transmission. It is more probable, however, that the *lo* is used here, as frequently in Hebrew,¹⁸ like the ethical dative in Latin.

14. קרא is the most common word in Hebrew for *proclaim* and is used in I Kings 13:4, 32, 21:9, 12, Is. 30:7, Mic. 3:5, 6:9, Am. 4:5, Prov. 1:21, 8:1, Joel 4:9, Jeremiah 2:2, 36:9, Is. 40:5 and Ex. 32:5 (P). No other Hebrew or Aramaic word would have been suitable for Jonah's proclamation. He could not have used *basar*, for it ordinarily means to "proclaim or bring good tidings" as in I Sam. 31:9, 2 Sam. 4:10, 18:19, 31, I Chron. 10:9, Ps. 40:10, 68:12, Is. 60:2.¹⁹ The corresponding Arabic verb means "to announce good tidings," and the noun means "good news." In Syriac the root does not occur in this sense; but in the Aramaic of the Targums, it is generally used just as in Hebrew.²⁰ In Assyrian, also, it is used of good tidings.²¹ The conclusion, therefore, is that Jonah in using קרא employed the usual and most appropriate word known to either Hebrews or Arameans with which to express his idea.

15. השב ל 1:4, This is found no where else in this sense, either in Hebrew or in any other Semitic language. What standard of comparison have we for determining its date? (See further under 2 above).

16. קריאה 3:2 is found no where else in the O. T. Hence

¹⁸ Gesenius-Kautzsch *Heb. Gr.* § 119, s.

¹⁹ The only exceptions to this use of "good tidings" are I Sam. 4:17 and 2 Sam. 18:20. In I King 1:42 and Is. 52:2, the idea of good is strengthened by the use of *tôb*.

²⁰ E.g., of good news in Num. 25:12, Ps. 96:2, Is. 40:9; of bad news Gen. 41:26, 27.

²¹ E.g., in Annals of Ashurbanipal x. 68 "good tidings of the conquest of my enemies was announced to me continually." KB. II. 232.

no argument for date can be based upon it. It is not found in any Aramaic dialect. The root is good Hebrew and also the form (Gesenius-Kautzsch § 84 a, l.)

17. On the verb **טעם**, see 14 above.

III Conclusions

1. Recapitulating the results of the above investigation of the words peculiar to Jonah, we find:

- (1) That three of them **רב**, **טעם**, and **מנה** are found in Assyrian in the sense employed in Jonah. Since it is probable that Jonah knew Assyrian, seeing that his message was delivered to the people of Nineveh, it is easy to see how he may have come to use some Assyrian words and nuances in his writings.
- (2) That one of them, **שתק** is used in a sense peculiar to Jonah, but exactly fitting to the connection, and that this word is apparently not used in this connection in any other Semitic language.
- (3) That one of them, **עמל**, is a good Hebrew word and the most proper one to use in the place where it is employed.
- (4) That one of them **קריאה**, is a good Hebrew form from a common Hebrew root; and that it is not found in Syriac.
- (5) That two of them **חשב** and **העביר** are used in a sense not found anywhere else either in Hebrew, or in the cognate languages, and hence may have been used at one time as well as at another.
- (6) That **ו** is found sporadically in all periods of Hebrew literature, that it is the ordinary relative in Assyrian; that it is found in Phenician; and that it occurs in Aramaic, but only in an inscription from the 7th century, B.C.
- (7) That the use of the **ל** proves nothing as to the age of the document.

(8) That ספינה is probably Phenician, its root being found only in Hebrew; and that in Jonah it is used in its original and proper sense of *hold* or *decked* part of the ship.

(9) That עשת is rather a Hebrew word in Aramaic than an Aramaic word in Hebrew, seeing that outside of Jonah it is found only in Aramaic documents which were written by Jews who had adopted that language.

2. That Jonah should have a number of *hapax legomena* is no proof of late date. Six such words are found in Jonah, it is true: but Hosea has twenty-five of them; Micah, thirteen; and Amos, twenty-four. Are they also late?

3. That Jonah should have a few words used by him in senses found elsewhere only in Aramaic is no proof of late date. Hosea has 65 words which occur in the Old Testament five times or less, twenty-one of which are found in Aramaic; Amos has fifty, of which fifteen are found in Aramaic, and Jonah fifteen of which five are found in Aramaic. That is, of the sporadic Hebrew words found in Hosea, 32 per cent occur in Aramaic; of those in Amos 30 per cent; and of those in Jonah 33 per cent.

4. The use of a few words in Jonah in a sense found nowhere else in the Old Testament, or even in all Semitic literature, cannot be used as a proof of date. Milton in *Samson Agonistes* alone uses 54 words beginning with *a* that are not found in any other of his poetical works.²² Since Dr. Driver wrote his LOT., documents from the 3rd to the 6th century B.C. have been found which contain at least seven of the words discussed above.

5. Many words found in Jonah do not occur in any of the Psalms. This is true not merely of the *hapax legomena* but of the words "raging" 1:15, "to be faint" 4:4, "strength" 3:5, "on the morrow" 4:7, "tempestuous" 1:11, "to vomit" ii. 11, "robe" iii. 6, and others, all of which are found in the

²² See the *Lexicon to the English Poetical Works of John Milton*, by Laura E. Lockwood, Ph.D.

literature which the critics assign to the period before 700 B.C.

6. Words in Jonah are used in special senses not found in any of the Psalms. Such are "captain" 1:6, "to row" 1:13, "raging" 1:15, "decree" 3:7.

7. On the other hand, 78 out of 85 verbs found in Jonah are used in the same sense and form in the writings which the critics admit to have been written in or before the 8th century. Of the seven remaining, three are found in senses never found elsewhere, one is found in a sense met with in Assyrian as well as Aramaic, the root of the fifth occurs in J, the sixth is a *hapax legomenon*, and the seventh is found in 2 Sam. 22.

Of the 122 nouns, all but eleven occur in writings antedating 700 B.C., and of these eleven, three are *hapax legomena*, three are in Ezekiel, two in Assyrian, two are found in the early literature but are used in a special sense by Jonah, and the last occurs in 2 Sam. 22:5.

Of the 43 particles, all are found in the literature placed by the critics before 700 B.C.

8. Without counting pronouns, Jonah used 85 verbs, 122 nouns, and 43 particles. For one hundred and fifty years the critics have been searching this vocabulary for evidence of a late date. Up to the present, they have found at most, five nouns, two particles, and nine verbs, which are either peculiar to Jonah, or used by him in a sense different from that found elsewhere in the Old Testament. In Milton's poetical works there are nearly 600 such words beginning with *a* alone. Every book and almost every chapter of the Old Testament has as large a percentage of such words as Jonah has.²³

9. After 200 years of thorough investigation the critics can find only about a dozen words which in their opinion indicate a date later than 700 B.C.; and as to these indicative

²³ Hosea has 14 words occurring in it alone in the Old Testament and not found in New Hebrew or Aramaic; Amos has ten; Micah, eleven. Of words occurring 5 times or under in the Old Testament, Hosea has 65, Amos 50, Micah 49, Nahum 36, Habakkuk 34, and Zephaniah 31.

words they are agreed only in the case of the two verbs עָשָׂה and בָּנָה, the noun for *ship* (סְפִינָה) and the particle שֶׁ.

Having finished the examination of the linguistic evidence produced by the critics and the summation of the results thereof, we confidently leave the verdict to the jury of our readers, believing that they will agree that the case against the authenticity of the Book of Jonah, so far as it is based upon linguistic premises, has not been proven.

ROBERT DICK WILSON.

Princeton.

NOTES AND NOTICES.

THE FEAR OF ISAAC (Genesis xxxi. 42).

This singular designation of the God of the patriarch, which occurs at the close of Jacob's angry reply to Laban's hypocritical charge of ingratitude: Except the God of my father, the God of Abraham, and the Fear (*Paḥad*) of Isaac had been with me, surely now hadst thou sent me away empty; and which is repeated in a slightly fuller form in verse 53, where we are told that, Jacob swore by the Fear (*Paḥad*) of his father Isaac, is regarded by most commentators as requiring at least a word of explanation, while a few, most of whom are comparatively recent writers, have made it the subject of considerable investigation and discussion. The explanations of this phrase are broadly speaking along two lines, the one monotheistic, the other polytheistic. The former is the usual one and has been for centuries practically the only one advocated. The latter has been advanced by certain of the more radical of the higher critics in connection with their contention that monotheism was a late development in Israel.

According to the monotheistic interpretation, the word "Fear" is to be understood as being merely an appellation of Jehovah, the God of the patriarchs,¹ which is here used to describe or designate him as the One, whom Isaac revered and worshipped with religious awe and dread. This interpretation seems to be favored by the LXX, the Peshitto and the Vulgate, as in them the word is translated, which might not have been the case had it been regarded as a proper name. It is rendered in the Targum of Onkelos by the words, "He whom Isaac feared", which seems to be the accepted interpretation of the Jewish commentators. It is also the interpretation of most of the modern exegetes as has been intimated. As proof of this it will suffice to mention the names of Calvin, Matthew Pool, Matthew Henry, Rosenmüller, Reuss, Keil, Delitzsch, Lange, Dillmann, Strack, Skinner, and Driver.

As regards the reason for the use of this peculiar expression, the scholars who accept the view that it is merely an appella-

¹ Cp. the divine names *El Shadday*, and *El Elyon*, in both of which the word *El* is sometimes omitted (not in the Pentateuch, however) and the name *Sûr*, which is sometimes used as a proper name.

tion of Jehovah, are not in entire agreement. Many do not attempt any explanation, save the one stated above, that it means, the One whom Isaac feared and worshipped. The Jewish commentators advanced the rather fanciful view that "as his father was still alive, Jacob would have been wanting in reverence, if he had spoken of God as 'Isaac's God,' even though Jehovah condescended so to call himself".² An explanation, which has been very widely accepted, is stated by Matthew Henry, as follows: "He calls him the God of Abraham and the Fear of Isaac: for Abraham was dead and gone to that world where perfect love casts out fear; but Isaac was yet alive, sanctifying the Lord in his heart, as his Fear and his Dread." That it was not original with him is clear, since we find it substantially in Matthew Pool. This explanation has probably seemed to the majority of recent writers somewhat fanciful, for the writer has not found it quoted in the best commentaries. It has been suggested instead that we meet here an old name of God. This view may be correct. But it leaves the fact of its occurrence here and here only unexplained.

The polytheistic interpretation of this phrase, which as has been intimated is of comparatively recent date and apparently originated in the attempt of the critics to find in it a confirmation of their theory that the patriarchs were polytheists, has two distinct forms. According to the less usual one these words are understood to mean "the fear which Isaac inspired" (subjective genitive) and consequently must be accepted as implying that Isaac is to be regarded as a God. This view was suggested by Holzinger (1898) with some apparent hesitation.³ It has been subjected to careful scrutiny by Eerdmans,⁴ who points out that Staerk's claim that the genitive must be subjective is not in accordance with the facts, and maintains as against Staerk, Ed. Meyer and others that there is nothing in the history of the patriarchs to indicate that these figures were superhuman in character. He advocates the view which is

² Cf. Ellicott, on *Genesis*, in loco. We find this explanation cited already in Matthew Pool.

³ The theory that the patriarchs were old deities is of course considerably older. But Holzinger seems to have been the first or one of the first to seek confirmation of it in the phrase under discussion.

⁴ *Alttest. Studien* II. S. 10f.

declared to be a 'hazardous speculation' by Skinner, but which is defended by Gunkel that we have here the name of a local deity, worshipped by Isaac, whose shrine was at Beersheba or Mizpah. Gunkel points to the "terror by night" (*paḥad laylā*) mentioned in Ps. xci. 5 as a similar expression, and suggests that there the allusion is to a demon of the night. Eerdmans takes the expression in our immediate context, "Except . . . the Fear of Isaac had been with me" (*hāyā lī*) in a baldly literal sense, "unless I had the Fear of Isaac", as implying that Isaac gave to Jacob when he went away to Padan Aram an amulet of this local deity and that it is to this that Jacob refers. This suggestion reminds us of the comment on this passage in the Talmud,⁵ where it is said that 'Jacob took his God (i. e. idol) out of his bosom and kissed it,' a fanciful interpretation, which suggests idolatry, but not necessarily polytheism.⁶

These attempts of the critics to find here evidence that the patriarchs were polytheists have little to commend them exegetically and are in conflict with the unmistakably monotheistic setting of the narrative. It is true that the Scripture does not deny, perhaps even implies that Abraham had been a polytheist, but even if, as Driver suggests, the reference in verse 53 to the God of Abraham and the God of Nahor implies that Laban and his kin were still polytheists, an inference which the teraphim incident might tend to confirm, this does not justify the inference that Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, recognized, far less worshipped the heathen gods from which Abraham's call was clearly intended to separate him and his descendants. The whole narrative clearly implies that Abraham and his descendants were monotheists and this has always been the understanding of the Christian Church.

Such being the case the main question for us to consider is how Jacob came to call the God of his father Isaac by this

⁵ Cf. Strack, *Genesis*, in loco.

⁶ It has also been suggested that *Paḥad* may have the meaning "ghost". But aside from the fact that there is no proof of such a meaning for the word, a sufficient answer to this theory is found, as has been pointed out, in the fact that Isaac was still alive at the time. The attempt to interpret *paḥad* as meaning "thigh, ancestor or clan" (cf. Cheyne, *Encyc. Bib.* art. "Isaac") is opposed by the versions which support the usual rendering.

title, which occurs nowhere else in the O. T. The reasons which have been suggested by the Jewish exegetes and by Matthew Henry hardly seem adequate. It seems scarcely probable that in the O. T. times there could have been any impropriety in Jacob's referring to "the God of Isaac" as long as his father was alive.⁷ And it seems a little improbable to say the least that Jacob in the heat of his dispute with Laban, should find time for theological subtleties. Matthew Henry's interpretation would be an excellent one if it had anything to commend it except the fact that it is doctrinally sound.

It seems rather remarkable that no attempt has been made to connect these words, the Fear of Isaac, with that tragic experience of Isaac's youth at Mt. Moriah, when his father all but offered him a sacrifice upon the altar, in obedience to Jehovah's command. From the standpoint of a sound psychology, it is certain that this awful ordeal must have made a deep and lasting impression upon his mind, especially since it occurred in the most impressionable period of his life. For we know only too well that the tragedies of childhood and youth may cast a shadow over the whole after life and that sometimes the injury done is irremediable. And nothing was more obviously calculated to stamp deeply upon the soul of Isaac the thought of the awful righteousness and severity of God than the fearful testing of his father's faith and of his own filial obedience, which there took place. It has been frequently pointed out that, in his submission to his father,

⁷ In Genesis xxiv, Jehovah is four times called by Abraham's servant, "the God of my master Abraham". If the phrase "God of Abraham" would have been an improper one for Isaac to have used as long as his father was alive, one would suppose that a slave would hardly have ventured to use it even in this modified form. If it was proper for Jacob to speak of the "God of my father"—we find it in vs. 5 and 22 of this chapter and also in xxvii. 20—it is hard to see why there should be any impropriety in the use of the words "God of Isaac," or "God of my father, Isaac." That Elisha could not have referred to "Elijah's God" before the latter's translation seems improbable. Nor does it seem likely that a special insult is implied in the words "God of Hezekiah" as used by the messenger of Sennacherib. This explanation seems to be merely an example of the hair-splitting refinements which we are accustomed to associate with Rabbinical and Scholastic exegesis.

Isaac was a type of the Christ, whose perfect submission to his Father's will is a singular proof of his oneness with the Father. But while this is true there is a danger lest we magnify the type too much in its relation to the Antitype. It is impossible for us to believe in view of what we are elsewhere told of the human frailty and even cowardice which entered into the character of Isaac, that his love for his father and to his God was so strong and so perfect that it was able to cast out all fear of the God, who had commanded his father to offer him as a sacrifice. We recall how Job in his affliction spoke of the terror of God, "Let not thy terror make me afraid"; and how Jeremiah in that time of testing when he was in danger of being cast off by the Lord for disobedience cried out, "Be not a terror unto me."⁸ Such being the case it would be natural for Isaac to use a similar expression. For while the word *paḥad* is a strong one and one which is especially appropriate to describe the terror which Jehovah inspires in the hearts of the wicked, cp. e. g. Isa. ii. 10, 19, 21, it is also used in a good sense to describe the reverent awe which should be felt by the truly pious in the presence and at the thought of the awful majesty of the Lord.

It is to be noted that we are nowhere told that Isaac ever used this word in speaking of the God whom he worshipped. It is used by Jacob in both instances. But it is practically certain that Jacob and Esau were both aware of the tragic experience which their father had passed through in his youth—it was too closely connected with the Promise and the Blessing for it to be a matter of indifference—and the circumstance itself together with the way in which their father told it, perhaps also the manner in which Isaac sometimes spoke of his God, may have made this word seem to Jacob an appropriate one to use in speaking of the God of his father Isaac. The suggestion that he used it with a view to playing on the superstitious fears of Laban (Gunkel) is a very plausible one in view of the fact that Laban had just alluded to the divine warning, which he had received during the previous night, and

⁸ How deeply this aspect of the God of Israel was impressed upon the Judaism of later times is indicated for example by the fact that in the Targum of Onkelos, Elohim is translated by the word Fear" about a dozen times, 'El once, and Ba'al twice. Cf. Brederick, *Konkordanz zum Targum Onkelos*.

which was he asserted the only thing which deterred him from dealing harshly with Jacob. Jacob was too shrewd to let such an opportunity slip by him to magnify the severity of the God of his father, who alone stood between him and the wrath of the unscrupulous Laban.

If the explanation of the use of this expression by Jacob which we have suggested is correct, it reveals to us a new aspect of the life and character of Isaac. It shows us how very human he was and makes more real than ever the trial of Abraham's faith, by suggesting that Isaac was by no means a willing sufferer. It implies that Isaac had all that clinging to life and that instinctive shrinking from death, which is so marked in childhood and youth. Isaac like Elijah was a man of like passions with ourselves and it was not easier for him than it is for us to tread the path of obedience. On the other hand it brings into still stronger relief the unique perfection of Him of whom Isaac was a type. And as we turn to the great high priestly prayer in John xvii we are impressed more than ever with the perfect submission of our Lord to the Father with whom he had declared himself to be One. For the Scripture knows of one only who was holy, harmless, undefiled and separate from sinners, the Christ of God.

OSWALD T. ALLIS.

Princeton.

REVIEWS OF RECENT LITERATURE

EXEGETICAL THEOLOGY

An Introduction to the Old Testament, Chronologically Arranged, by HARLAN CREELMAN, PH.D., D.D., Professor of Hebrew Language and Literature at Auburn Theological Seminary. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1917.

This book gives a fair statement of the opinions of certain destructive critics as to the time of the composition of the books, and parts of books, of the Old Testament. The subject-matter is arranged according to the periods in which the parts are alleged to have been written. It is a convenient and reliable consensus of the views put forth by the writers of the radical school. It is gratifying to note that there is practically no section of Ezekiel of which the authenticity is questioned. This can be said of no other book. Nearly all of the Old Testament is a mixture of largely unhistorical and untrustworthy elements, from which no one but a critic of this self-styled "scholarly school" can, except by a lucky accident, extract the truth. The "authorities" are mentioned at length. With a very few exceptions, they are all critics of the Wellhausen type, the late Professor Willis J. Beecher having been cited among them probably because he once filled the chair now occupied by the author of this book.

For all those who reject the critical principles of the Grafian school this Introduction will be worthless, except as a thesaurus of the opinions of its adherents. No one can hold the views propounded in this volume without holding also that Jesus and the Apostles did not know what they were talking about when they expressed themselves with regard to the Old Testament; or that knowing, they camouflaged their views for the sake of making a good impression on their hearers.

Princeton.

R. D. WILSON.

The Kingdom of God. By C. W. EAKELY. Published by the author. 1917. Pp. III.

The argument of this curious book may be briefly stated. The promises made to Judah shall be literally fulfilled; but those promises have been transferred to Israel; and Israel is the Anglo-Saxon race.

To test the historical accuracy and logical acumen of the author it is sufficient to examine the evidence adduced in support of the identity of the Anglo-Saxon race with Israel. "It is time for Anglo-Saxon Christians to cease calling themselves 'gentiles'" (p. 78). This idea seems to have a peculiar fascination for a certain class of minds, and history and Scripture are perverted with equal readiness to establish it.

The main links in the author's chain of reasoning are these:—In blessing the sons of Joseph Jacob "purposely placed his right hand on Ephraim's head (the younger) and his left hand on Manasseh's, thus making the sign of the Saxon cross X in so doing" (p. 84). One of them the patriarch foretold should become a nation, and the other a company of nations; and the prediction is manifestly fulfilled in the United States of America and the British Empire. "The stone of Israel," named in the blessing pronounced upon Joseph, is the stone that Jacob used as a pillow, which was the rock that followed the children of Israel through their wandering in the wilderness, was carried by Jeremiah to Egypt and thence to Ireland; "and since then all the kings and queens of Ireland, Scotland and England have been crowned on that stone of destiny, which rests in Westminster Abbey today, the property still of Joseph's tribe" (p. 87). And it is noted also that Daniel speaks of "a stone kingdom which shall fill the whole earth," and that our Lord spoke of the stone which is become the head of the corner, "and whosoever shall fall on this stone shall be broken, but on whomsoever it shall fall, it will grind him to powder" (Matt. 21:42-44). The stone is the Anglo-Saxon.

"In giving his dying blessing to his children, Jacob gave them certain emblems; to Judah that of the lion, and to Joseph the unicorn" (p. 95), and the national emblems of England are the lion and the unicorn. If accuracy were a matter of importance in writing of this kind, it might be noted that the word rendered *unicorn* appears in the Revised Version as *wild ox*, and that it occurs not in the blessing of Jacob but of Moses (Deut. 33:17).

England's national anthem is evidently drawn from the Hebrew custom of shouting God save the King.

"The prophet Jeremiah escaped into Egypt about 584 B.C. . . . It is known he carried this stone," the stone now preserved in Westminster Abbey—"and was the guardian of the king's daughters, the royal line of David. Irish records refer to the landing of Jeremiah's party and the marriage later of Tea Taphi (Hebrew words), a beautiful princess, to a prince of the Tuesta de Daunauus. They were afterwards crowned as king and queen, and thus was the papal line of David miraculously preserved" (p. 99).

That the line was preserved as indicated in the Gospel genealogy is evidently a matter of small importance.

We read further that the tomb of Queen Taphi is still intact at Tara, and "it is believed by many that within that tomb was buried the Ark of the Covenant, the tables of stone which contained the Ten Commandments, and the title deeds to Palestine" (p. 100). Jeremiah himself is buried in Ireland (p. 101).

Manasseh was the thirteenth tribe, so to speak, and thirteen plays a peculiar part in the history of the United States. "The original flag shows thirteen states by thirteen stripes; our national motto *E Pluribus Unum* has thirteen letters; the great seal of the United States has on the obverse side an eagle and olive branch, thirteen arrows and

thirteen stars, on the reverse there are these words annuit coeptis (thirteen letters), which means, 'He has prospered our undertaking.' The United States dollar contains thirteen stars and thirteen letters in the scroll; the eagle holds thirteen wing feathers, thirteen tail feathers, thirteen arrow heads, thirteen horizontal stripes, and thirteen parallel lines" (p. 94).

To this imposing array of evidence we may add that the names Geo. Washington and Woodrow Wilson contain thirteen letters each; and the demonstration is complete.

We must not fail to notice that etymology too lends its aid. Erin = Eron, meaning ark (p. 101). Danube, Danmark, Scandannavia are waymarks of the ten tribes as they journeyed far and wide (p. 103). We need not concern ourselves of course with the spelling. Britain = Covenant. The word Saxons is evidently Isaac's—sons—Saacson's (p. 107).

It is hard to believe that all this is written seriously. It reads like a burlesque, a *reductio ad absurdum* of the theory. And such in truth it is. For those who may be inclined to adopt this view this book should provide an effectual cure.

Princeton.

J. RITCHIE SMITH.

PRACTICAL THEOLOGY

The Manual of Inter-Church Work, edited by DR. ROY B. GUILD. Published by The Commission on Inter-Church Federations of the Federal Churches of Christ in America. 16mo; cloth, pp. 221. Price 60c. prepaid.

As suggested by the publishers, this book contains the reports of the eight sub-commissions of the Commission on Inter-Church Federations of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, which were presented at the Congress on the Purposes and Methods of Inter-Church Work, held at Pittsburgh, October 1 to 4, 1917. In addition, there is an introduction by Mr. Fred B. Smith, the report of the Committee on Observations and Recommendations, of which the Rev. W. C. Bitting is Chairman, and an appendix giving a model constitution for a local Church federation, making the volume a complete handbook of the latest experience and practice in this important branch of religious work.

"The Work of the Church on Behalf of Unity." By RT. REV. C. P. ANDERSON, D.D., Bishop of Chicago. Published for the Western Theological Seminary, Chicago, by the Young Churchman Company. Milwaukee, Wisconsin. Paper. 8vo; pp. 42.

This discourse discusses the problem of Church unity in view of the present crucial conditions in the history of the world and the dark prospect of securing a closer Christian fellowship by methods commonly advocated. The way of approach by mutual concession is contrasted with that of mutual contribution. The author finds the per-

manent features of the Christian Church to consist in "the papacy, episcopacy and the presbytery," and urges a unity to be secured by comprehension, suggesting that with all the risks and difficulties involved the Church should at once make the venture of faith demanded by such a union.

Princeton.

CHARLES R. ERDMAN.

Missionary War Service. Board of Foreign Missions, The Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A. New York City. 8vo; paper; pp. 12.

This little booklet is of great value in demonstrating the need of vigorously prosecuting the work of foreign missions during the present time of world conflict. It shows the invaluable service being rendered to the peoples of the whole world by representatives of the missionary boards and agencies. This service is shown to be one of unselfishness, of co-operation, of fidelity and of patriotism.

The Presbyterian Church and The War. The National Service Commission of the Presbyterian Church, United States of America. Philadelphia. Presbyterian Board of Publication and Sabbath School Work. Paper. 16mo; pp. 36.

These programs of service have been arranged for local churches by the special committee of the National Service Commission. After presenting the moral obligation of the Church and the special work demanded by the conditions of the war, suggestive themes and texts for sermons are designated, together with a selected list of appropriate hymns and of Bible extracts. To these is added a "program for patriotic service," intended for the use of Sunday Schools. The book closes with a series of practical suggestions to aid pastors in properly caring for the soldiers and sailors of their own churches and those who may be brought into attendance upon their churches from the neighboring camps and cantonments.

Princeton.

CHARLES R. ERDMAN.

The Highway of Life, and Other Sermons. By HUGH T. KERR, D.D. New York: Fleming H. Revell Company. 12mo; cloth. Pp. 186. Price net, \$1.15.

These fourteen sermons were delivered by the pastor and published at the request of the committee on men's work of the Shadyside Presbyterian Church, Pittsburgh, Pa. The request suggests that the sermons were received with favor and were regarded as of unusual merit. Among the themes are the following: "Who is a Christian?" "Life at Its Best," "In Touch with Reality," "The School of Science," "The Chief End of Man," "The Great War and the Kingdom." The style is vigorous. The outlines are invariably distinct and separate each discourse into clear divisions, usually four in number and logically related, so that the substance of the message can easily be remembered by the hearer. The discourses are ethical rather than spiritual. They do not usually emphasize the great doctrines of grace,

nor do they deal largely with the supernatural elements of religion. They are in accordance with Scripture teaching, but are in no sense expository. Their design is not evangelistic, but they are calculated to inspire one to seek for a better and a higher life.

Princeton.

CHARLES R. ERDMAN.

The Peaceful Life, a Study of Spiritual Hygiene. By OSCAR KUHN, Professor in Wesleyan University. Abingdon Press. 1917. Pp. 234. \$1.00 net.

The main defect of the book is that the peaceful life which it represents is too narrow, too self-contained and self-centered. The chief end of man is not to attain a serene and happy life, remote from the cares and sorrows of the world; and it is not true of Christianity at least that "at bottom the goal of all religion is and ever has been to attain a state of peace and serenity, removed far beyond all the petty cares and sorrows of earthly life" (p. 155); or that "the chief thing about Heaven has always been the utter absence of care and pain and sorrow and the multitude of little things that keep the soul constantly stirred up" (p. 28). Is this freedom from care something higher and nobler than the fellowship, the holiness, the service of heaven, than the presence of the Savior? The author's conception of the Christian life here and hereafter centres far too largely in the thought of personal happiness, as if that should be the main object of pursuit. There is danger that religion of this kind become merely a refined and enlightened form of selfishness. Man does not find his chief end in himself.

If we bear in mind this fundamental error, we shall find much that is interesting and profitable. The author draws largely from his own experience and has many helpful suggestions. Among the aids to peace the just place is given to religion, though sufficient attention is not given to religion as bringing peace to the conscience and furnishing the largest opportunities of service.

Paul did not declare "the love of money to be the root of all evil" (p. 45); nor was it the Psalmist who prayed for "food convenient for me" (p. 73). On p. 203 there seems to be a curious blending of the words of Lactetius and Lord Bacon.

Five Young Men. Messages of Yesterday for the Young Men of Today. By CHARLES REYNOLDS BROWN, Dean of the School of Religion, Yale University. Fleming H. Revell Co. 1917. Pp. 122. 75 cents net.

The young men indicated by the title are Joseph, the young man who was a favorite son; Samson, the young man who was an athlete; David, the young man who became king; Isaiah, the young man who was born to the purple; Jesus, the young man who changed the history of the world. The themes are wisely chosen, and are treated in a bright and interesting way. The story is well told, the truth is applied with clearness and power. The moral and spiritual elements of life are given their proper place. This comment is made on the

prayer of the publican, "God be merciful to me, a sinner" (p. 85): "In that one brief sentence we have the four main terms of religious experience. 'God,' the object of religion, the ground of all finite existence, the basis of all our hope! 'Me,' the human soul, the subject of religion, the field where the work of religion is to be brought out! 'Sin,' the obstacle to religion, the source of all our moral failure, the cause of our alienation from God! And 'mercy,' the agent of religion, the form of energy which accomplishes our recovery!"

Christ is exalted as Redeemer and Lord. The book is well adapted not only to arrest and hold the attention of those to whom it is addressed, but to lead them to know and obey the truth as it is in Christ Jesus.

Princeton.

J. RITCHIE SMITH.

The Unshaken Kingdom, Lectures delivered under the Holland Foundation at the Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary. By HENRY C. MABIE, D.D., LL.D. Fleming H. Revell Co. 1917. Pp. 180. \$1.00 net.

The endeavor is made to discover the fundamental principles which underlie the missionary movement, and to show that they abide unshaken even when the world is at war. The things that remain unmoved amid strife and revolution are the throne of God; the eternal redemptive movement as outlined in divine revelation; a providential moral order; Christian experience; a new social order.

The argument moves slowly toward the goal, and it is not always easy to see how the discussion is related to the theme. The style is usually dignified and refined, but we read with surprise that God "had something up his sleeve" (p. 20).

It is going too far to affirm that Christianity is the only religion that has or can have a doctrine of divine providence (p. 37), unless the term be used in a very restricted sense. Had Socrates and Plato and Mohammed nothing to say upon this theme? The title of Frederick W. Robertson's great sermon is not "Obedience the Key to Knowledge" (p. 63), but "Obedience the Organ of Spiritual Knowledge." More is read into the prayer of the dying robber (Luke 23:42) than there is good reason to believe it accurately contains (p. 143). It is by no means certain that "Jesus entirely denied Himself" to the Greek inquirers of John 12:20 (p. 163). The chapter on the cosmic import of the Cross of Christ is an interesting and stimulating discussion and starts a great many questions.

The Prophets: Elijah to Christ. By ANDREW W. BLACKWOOD. Fleming H. Revell Co. 1917. Pp. 232. \$1.75 net.

"These stories on representative prophets of Judah and Israel" have been given to various conferences and congregations, and are well adapted to arouse the interest of those to whom the prophets in general have been a sealed book. They are judicious, scholarly, attractive. The man and the message alike are clearly set before us. It is not in accord with Scripture teaching to say that "In Jeremiah, as in our

Master, the man was even more important than the message" (p. 193). The greatest of the prophets regards himself as only a voice. A number of charts are given, some of which do not appear to add to the interest or profit of the story.

Princeton.

J. RITCHIE SMITH.

In the Day of the Ordeal. Sermons by W. P. PATERSON, D.D., Professor of Divinity in the University of Edinburgh, Chaplain in Ordinary to the King of Scotland. T. & T. Clark. 1917. Pp. 262. 4s. 6d.

The dedication lends a pathetic interest to the volume: "To my wife and in memory of our sons, R. S. Paterson, Second Lieutenant, Royal Field Artillery, Neuve Chapelle, 11th March, 1915; W. P. Paterson, Captain King's Own Scottish Borderers, Delville Wood, 31st July, 1916." The book is largely concerned with the war, as the title indicates, but there is in it none of the spirit of bitterness and hate. That may be said in general, indeed, of the books that come to us from our kindred across the sea. The treatment of the varied themes involved is clear and strong, and moves upon a high moral plane. There is a keen appreciation of national weaknesses and sins, while at the same time the note of faith and courage and confidence rings loud and clear.

In the sermon on the Magnetism of the Cross, from the text "And I, if I be lifted up from the earth, will draw all men unto me" (John 12:32), the phrase *all men* is not adequately treated, a fault this sermon shares with many others on the same verse. In the sermon on the Descent into Hell, the doctrine of a future probation is accepted.

We rejoice that our brethren in Great Britain are facing the tremendous conflict in which they are engaged with the calmness, the sobriety of spirit, the unshaken faith and unfaltering courage which this book displays.

Princeton.

J. RITCHIE SMITH.

The Lord's Prayer and the Prayers of our Lord. A Scriptural Exposition. By E. F. MORRISON, D.D., Late Scholar of Lincoln College, Oxford, and Senior Kennicott Scholar in University of Oxford. Author of "St. Basil and his Rule," etc. Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. London. 1917. Pp. vii 198. 3s. 6d. net.

The theme of the book is indicated in the opening chapter. "The fact that our Lord had just ceased from praying when the disciples came to Him with their request suggests the possibility that He gave them a pattern for their devotions which was directly founded upon His own prayers. It will be seen from the detailed discussion which now follows how each clause, with the obvious exception of the petition for forgiveness, reflects the prayers and aspirations of our Lord Himself. Thus to the statement that the teaching of Christ is the truest exposition of the Lord's Prayer we may add that the first and most important source of information as to the meaning of the Master's exemplar must be the language of His own prayers" (pp. 9, 10).

The idea thus suggested is worked out in an interesting and instructive way. The positions are taken up in order, and illustrated by our Lord's own words. The closing chapters present illustrations from Jewish sources; Versions of the Lord's Prayer in Greek, Latin, and English; and the prayers of our Lord in the synoptic Gospels and in John.

Is it true that Matthew is the least popular of the Gospels, as is intimated here? (p. 159). Luke is called the missionary and Matthew the parochial Gospel (p. 170). It may be said in general that the treatment of the Gospels is the least satisfactory part of the book.

Princeton.

J. RITCHIE SMITH.

Pedagogy for Ministers, and Application of Pedagogical Principles to the Preaching and other Work of the Pastor. By ALVAH SABIN HOBART, Professor of New Testament Interpretation in Crozer Theological Seminary. Fleming H. Revell Co. 1917.

The book contains much good matter and many useful suggestions, but both the thought and the style are lacking in clearness and precision. Careless phrasing and unguarded expressions are frequent. In the light of history and experience what shall we make of the statement that "If two men are in like circumstances we may infer that what one will do the other will do" (p. 75)? We read again that "no conversions to Christian life are sudden" (p. 91). In treating of motives the author dwells at length upon fear, gratitude, self-respect, material advantage, usefulness, authority, and dismisses the supreme motive of love with a passing word (p. 141). We learn with surprise that tithing inclines men to greed and covetousness (p. 142). In what sense is it true that "nature and history antedate and outrank the Bible in fundamental things" (p. 144)? Is the earlier revelation the more complete? Are the grace and the glory of God more manifest in his works than in his Son? And it should be noted that in the pages which follow the Bible is recognized as "the real source of our knowledge of the distinctively Christian truth." Again the Scripture is represented as valuable to us rather because it is a revelation of human nature than a revelation of God. "So through all the book the faith, the courage, the patience of men are the elements of value for the teaching of which the books have been exalted and preserved" (p. 150). Where then is the grace of God as the central theme of all the Scripture?

These are examples of the loose way of thinking and speaking to which we have referred. Such passages may be explained, no doubt, but in dealing with matters of such importance there should be no need of explanation.

Presbyterians may be interested in the author's opinion of our Book of Common Worship. After remarking that the Episcopal Prayer Book "is very inadequate indeed," he adds "the new Presbyterian liturgy has prayers much more up-to-date. But one feels that while in substance they are adequate they are rather more rhetorical than the 'Common Prayer' should be" (p. 166).

Princeton.

J. RITCHIE SMITH.

American Civil Church Law. By CARL ZOLLMANN, LL.B. Member of the Bars of Illinois and Wisconsin. New York. Columbia University. Longmans, Green & Company, Agents. Cloth, 8vo; pp. 473. Price cloth, \$4.00.

This important work constitutes volume lxxvii of the Columbia University Studies in Theological Science. A great service has been rendered to the Christian Church in America by the publication of these important studies. The scope of the book is indicated by its title, and further by its table of contents which designates separate chapters on the following subjects: "Religious Liberty," "Forms of Corporations," "Nature of Corporations," "Powers of Corporations," "Church Constitutions," "Implied Trusts," "Schisms," "Church Decisions," "Tax Exemptions," "Disturbance of Meetings," "Contracts," "Clergymen," "Officers," "Dedication and Adverse Possession," "Pew Rights," "Church Cemeteries," "Methodist Episcopal Deed." The discussion concerns the civil law applicable to churches as distinguished from ecclesiastical rules of conduct. It is concerned with Church law only in so far as it sets forth the various matters in reference to which the Church and State come into contact. Most important of all it states the Law in its present conditions and underlying reasons, and is not a mere digest of reported cases. It is thus a work for lawyers and students of American institutions as well as for clergymen and officers of religious organizations. It states concisely and illustrates clearly the various rules of law which apply to Church relations. For the sake of convenience in the matter of reference, a summary has been added to the end of each chapter from which its scope and contents can be easily ascertained. Some of the chapters have been previously published, but much of the material is new, and the volume as completed will supply a want long felt by those who are concerned with the problems of ecclesiastical law in relation to civil statutes and enactments.

Princeton.

CHARLES R. ERDMAN.

GENERAL LITERATURE

The Confessions of a Browning Lover. By JOHN WALKER POWELL. New York: The Abingdon Press.

"Books On The Brownings," as the Abingdon Press terms them, books of Lockwood, Crow, Hutton and Mudge, are additional evidences of what might be called—The Browning Cult. To this growing list the volume before us is an addition and one, as the title indicates, from an ardent admirer of the poet—"A Browning Lover," as he explains, "because Browning taught essential truths and in a form which divorced them from the specific dogmas of the schools." The author in stating the ultimate purpose of his book is frank enough to say that he does not care so much to have his readers agree with him as to rouse them to thought. This Mr. Powell has done, as he discusses

such vital topics as, Artists and Philosophers, Ideas and Forms, The Theory of Knowledge, Life and Love, and The Problem of Evil, contending that the poet's special contribution to literature and his time lay in the stress that he placed on "spiritual values" as opposed to the materialistic teachings of modern science. What Berdoo has called "Browning's Message To His Time," the author tells us is a message containing and interpreting a philosophy of life and "an answer to its deepest questions."

In a more specific examination of the treatise before us, it may be said that the author's opening chapters—"Of The Poet as Artist," "Of Artists and Philosophers"—are the least convincing. "There seems," he says, "to be a very conspiracy to refuse Browning a place in the category of artists." We confess that we are one of the conspirators, and when the author asserts that Browning "is, first of all, an artist and only secondarily a philosopher," our opposition is intensified. This he has failed to prove, nor, in our judgment, can it be proved. Browning himself was too well aware of his limitations in artistry ever to claim supremacy in that particular province. Literary art appeals primarily to the taste, a word which we fail to find at all emphasized in Mr. Powell's theory of art "as an appeal to the heart and the imagination." It is far more and far other than that. It is an expression of form, of syntactical correctness, of execution as distinct from creation, of verbal structure, grace and finish, and it is here that Browning has so often failed. It is here that he ranks below Tennyson and Swinburne and Matthew Arnold and Mrs. Browning, even as he excels them all in the presentation of thought in poetic form.

The succeeding chapters of the book are illuminating and convincing, the one on "The Problem of Evil" expressing, as we believe, the primary purpose and merit of Browning's verse. To examine and solve, if possible, this fundamental problem was his governing motive, and here he has done much to bring all his readers under lasting indebtedness to him. This old problem that will not down and which defies solution fascinated and possessed him, and to the end of his days he struggled with it as an athlete in the arena. To students of theology, therefore, as to all serious minded men, this great British bard will ever make a vigorous appeal and Mr. Powell's discussion from this point of view is a valid contribution to the Browning library, not only because of the specific study of Browning, but in that it lifts the whole subject of literature and literary art to the highest ethical and spiritual level.

Princeton.

T. W. HUNT.

Fundamentals of Expression. A Primer of Basic Principles underlying the Art of Public Reading. By LELAND T. POWERS and CAROL H. POWERS. 1916. \$1.00.

Talks on Expression. A Book dealing with the Scientific Side of Right Expression. By LELAND T. POWERS. 1917. Thomas Groom and Co., Boston, Mass. \$1.00.

Mr. Powers is one of the best readers and one of the best teachers of public reading. In these little books he has given the principles of expression which he has found fundamental in all art, and has applied them to public reading. They apply equally well to public speaking. His chief purpose is to show that the reader should always express thought, and that the body needs training in order to do this well. Right expression has its beginning in mentality and makes its appeal to thought. Wrong expression has its beginning in sensation and makes its appeal to sensation. It uses nerve excitement in place of dynamic thought. It mistakes reflex action for thinking and feeling, and muscular tension for spiritual power. The mental concept must be conveyed by a material instrument, but the instrument must not obscure the thought by calling attention to itself. The painter uses paint, but in good art it is never noticed as paint. The reader uses voice and gesture, but must not let them express nerve excitement in place of thought.

The technique of any art may be defined as the most successful way of making the material means reflect the message of the mind, while calling the least attention to itself. Mr. Powers does not give rules and exercises for acquiring technique, believing that this must be done by the aid of the living teacher. He gives, instead, the philosophy on which the technique is based, and so puts the student on the right road. Mr. Powers bases his philosophy on that of Francois Delsarte, who revolutionized the teaching of voice and gesture by finding a philosophic basis for expression and substituting principles for empirical rules. But his philosophy is sometimes forced and fanciful, and the conclusions which Mr. Powers reaches could be made more clear and forcible from the Lange-James theory of emotions, which is generally accepted by psychologists.

Princeton.

HENRY W. SMITH.

Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science under the Direction of the Departments of History, Political Economy and Political Science.

Series XXXV, No. 2, *The Organizability of Labor* by WILLIAM O. WEYFORTH, PH.D., Instructor in Economics in Western Reserve University. 8vo; pp. 277. No. 3.

Party Organization and Machinery in Michigan since 1890, by ARTHUR CHESTER MILLSPAUGH, PH.D., Professor of Political Science in Whitman College. 8vo; pp. 187.

Series XXXVI, No. 1, *The Standard of Living in Japan*, by KOKISHI MORIMOTO, PH.D., Associate Professor of Economics in Tohoku Imperial University. 8vo; pp. 150.

To discriminate between these excellent studies would be difficult. They leave nothing to be desired in the way of comprehensiveness, accuracy and clearness.

Princeton.

WILLIAM BRENTON GREENE, JR.

PERIODICAL LITERATURE

American Church Monthly, New York, January: HAMILTON SCHUYLER, Some Spiritual Gains Arising out of the War; WILLIAM S. BISHOP, Christian Perfection—A Meditation; ARTHUR R. KELLEY, Prayer-Book Revision in Canada; ARTHUR W. JENKS, Use and Abuse of Church History—Foundation Facts vs. Favorite Fallacies; HENRY S. WHITEHEAD, Sunday School Opportunities. *The Same*, February: ARTHUR RITCHIE, The True Perspective; CAROLINE F. LITTLE, The Patron Saint of Armenia; CLARENCE A. MANNING, A Modern Greek Polemical Work; C. P. A. BURNETT, Bread and Wine for the Eucharist. *The Same*, March: WILLIAM LAWRENCE, The Church War Commission and its Work; CHARLES FISKE, The Call of the Laity; CHRISTINE T. HERRICK, Is the Christian Home a Possibility Today?; LATTA GRISWOLD, Rome and Development; WILLIAM P. McCUNE, The Sacraments and Recent Criticism of the New Testament; RALPH A. CRAM, Monasticism and the World Crisis; CHARLES H. YOUNG, Let us Use what we Have.

American Journal of Theology, Chicago, January: BENJAMIN W. BACON, More Philological Criticism of Acts; D. D. LUCKENBILL, On Israel's Origins; CLYDE W. VOTAW, Primitive Christianity an Idealistic Social Movement; JAMES W. THOMPSON, Church and State in Medieval Germany, I; J. HUGH MICHAEL, The Lament over Jerusalem; WILLIAM W. ROCKWELL, Latest Discussion on Peter and Paul at Rome; ELMER T. MERRILL, Tertullian on Pliny's Persecution of Christians.

Bibliotheca Sacra, Oberlin, January: PRESERVED SMITH, The Reformation, 1517-1917; WILLIAM I. FLETCHER, The Square Deal—or the Oblong; MELVIN G. KYLE, A New Solution of the Pentateuchal Problem; T. H. WEIR, German Critics and the Hebrew Bible; HAROLD M. WIENER, Contributions to a new Theory of the Composition of the Pentateuch, I; WALLACE N. STEARNS, Story of Gezer; JAMES LINDSAY, Religious Philosophy of Pascal; RAYMOND L. BRIDGMAN, World-Unity Conference.

Catholic Historical Review, Washington, January: JAMES A. ROBERTSON, Catholicism in the Philippine Islands; SEBASTIAN G. MESSMER, Reverend Hercule Brassac; CHARLES H. CUNNINGHAM, The Inquisition in the Philippines; SEBASTIAN G. MESSMER, Brassac's Correspondence with the American Bishops.

Constructive Quarterly, New York, March: M. J. LAGRANGE, The Catholic Church in the Light of Two Recent Works; WALTER LOCK, A Constructive Epistle; W. P. DUBOSE, The Subjective and Objective in Religion; F. R. TENNANT, The New Realism and Its Bearing on Theism; I. I. SOKOLOFF, Orthodox Church of Jerusalem; GILBERT C. BINYON, Theological Reaction of Social Democratic Ideals; A. T. ROBERTSON, Mark's Gospel and the Synoptic Problem; FRANCIS J. HALL, Constructive Theology; GEORGE W. DOUGLAS, The Church of Christ in Process of Transformation; W. L. BEVAN, Luther and His Modern Historians.

East & West, London, January: JOHN H. RITSON, The Bible and the War; EUGENE STOCK, Church Missionary Society; ARCHDEACON FARQUHAR, The Liberian Republic and the West Indian Mission to West Africa; NELSON BITTON, Robert Morrison and the London Missionary Society; ROBERT KEABLE, African Priests in France; E. R. MCNEILE, Forgiveness vs. Karma.

Expositor, London, January: JAMES MOFFATT, Dead Works; G. H. BOX, Who Were the Sadducees?; MAURICE JONES, "St. Paul" in the "Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics"; B. W. BACON, The "Five Books" of Matthew against the Jews; A. T. CADOUX, St. Mark's Anticipations. *The Same*, February: G. A. COOKE, Palestine and the Restoration of Israel; B. B. WARFIELD, The Christ that Paul Preached; W. EMERY BARNES, A Prophet's Apologia; J. E. H. THOMSON, Unfermented Wine in the Lord's Supper; E. W. WINSTANLEY, The Outlook of the Fourth Gospel; G. MARGOLIOUTH, Elijah on Mount Horeb; W. H. P. HATCH, "It Is Enough." *The Same*, March: F. R. TENNANT, Concept of the Infinite in Theology; A. C. WELCH, A Fresh Study of Zechariah's Visions; A. T. ROBERTSON, The Date of St. Mark's Gospel; H. T. ANDREWS, Title *κύριος* as Applied to Jesus; G. MILLIGAN, Greek Papyri; W. S. BISHOP, Two Pauline Antitheses.

Expository Times, Edinburgh, January: Notes of Recent Exposition; JOHN TELFORD, The World in the Valley of Decision; J. G. JAMES, Loyalty; H. A. A. KENNEDY, Irenaeus and the Fourth Gospel; THEOPHILUS G. PINCHES, Babylonian Paradise and its Rivers. *The Same*, February: Notes of Recent Exposition; F. R. TENNANT, Perfection in God and in Man; S. LANGDON, The Gardener in the Epic of Paradise; H. A. A. KENNEDY, Irenaeus and the Fourth Gospel.

Harvard Theological Review, Cambridge, January: HERBERT L. STEWART, Place of Coleridge in English Theology; KIRSOPP LAKE, Sinaitic and Vatican Manuscripts and the Copies Sent by Eusebius to Constantine; RICHARD W. BOYNTON, Catholic Career of Alfred Loisy; WILLIAM J. WILSON, Some Observations on the Aramaic Acts.

Hibbert Journal, Boston, January: EUGENE TROUBETZKOY, Reign of Nonsense in the World, in the State, and in Human Life; GILBERT MURRAY, The Soul as it is and How to Deal with it; J. MACLEOD, The Struggle for Existence, and Mutual Aid; M. J. LANDA, The Restoration of Palestine; C. G. MONTEFIORE, The Old Testament and Its Ethical Teaching; H. L. STEWART, Mortality and Convention; E. J. PRICE, Paul and Plato; NOEL BUXTON, Christian Principles and the War Settlement; H. J. D. ASTLEY, A Plea for Archaeology among the Clergy; JOSEH WOOD, Preaching after the War.

International Journal of Ethics, Concord, January; ARTHUR K. ROGERS, Principles of Distributive Justice; HERBERT L. STEWART, Alleged Prussianism of Thomas Carlyle; ALFRED H. LLOYD, The Glory of Democracy—Poetry, Comedy and Duty; KIA-LOK YEN, Bases of Democracy in China; WILBUR M. URBAN, Tolstoy and the Russian Sphinx; JOHN M. MECKLIN, The Tyranny of the Average Man; JAMES LINDSAY, Ethical Christianity in Europe.

Interpreter, Manchester, January: R. H. KENNETT, Conflict between Priestly and Prophetic Ideas in the Church of Israel; ARTHUR WRIGHT, Contradictions in Holy Scripture; C. RYDER SMITH, The Real Presence; ALBAN G. WIDGERY, Study of Religions; C. G. CLARK-HUNT, Paul's Christ; H. NORTHCOTE, Animal World in the Bible; BUCHANAN BLAKE, The Great Omission of the Organized Church; R. F. BEVAN, God's Government of the World; E. A. RANKIN, The Star in the East.

Jewish Quarterly Review, Philadelphia, January: ALEXANDER MARX, A Seventeenth-Century Autobiography; MEYER WAXMAN, Philosophy of Don Hasdai Crescas; JACOB MANN, The Responsa of the Babylonian Geonim as a Source of Jewish History; A. MARMORSTEIN, A Fragment of the Visions of Ezekiel.

Journal of Negro History, Lancaster, January: W. B. HARTGROVE, Story of Josiah Henson; BENJAMIN BRAWLEY, Elizabeth Barrett Browning and the Negro; CHARLES E. CHAPMAN, Palamares, the Negro Numantia; DELILAH L. BEASLEY, Slavery in California; California Freedom Papers; Thomas Jefferson's Thoughts on the Negro.

London Quarterly Review, London, January: W. T. DAVISON, Democracy and the Churches; ST. NIHAL SINGH, Indian Reconstruction; F. W. ORDE WARD, The Judgment of the Cross; J. AGAR BEET; The Eastern Question; JOHN TELFORD, Viscount Morley's 'Recollections'; T. H. S. ESCOTT, Fashions, Foibles, and Feuds of Nineteenth Century Letters; ARTHUR SYMONS, The Decadent Movement in Literature.

Lutheran Church Review, Lebanon, January: C. M. JACOBS, Fiftieth Anniversary of the General Council; J. A. W. HAAS, Reformation Sermon at Harvard University; MELVIN A. KURTZ, Contribution of Luther to Christian Theology; W. ROY HASHINGER, Contribution of Lutheranism to America; J. J. CLEMENS, True Lutheran Evangelism; J. E. WHITEKER, The Merger that Lasts; J. A. W. HAAS, Present Task of the Gospel Ministry; J. A. W. HAAS, Relation of the Holy Spirit to Heredity and Environment; GEORGE W. SANDT, Lutheran Leaders as I Knew Them; J. A. W. HAAS, Loyalty to Our Land.

Lutheran Quarterly, Gettysburg, January: DAVID S. SCHAFF, Origin and Purpose of the Protestant Reformation; J. A. HALL, The Legacy of the Reformation; EDWIN H. DELK, Luther in Our Day; JOHN ERLER, Liberty; R. MORRIS SMITH, The Liturgical Development of the General Synod of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in the United States (concluded); ELSIE S. LEWARS, The Common Service Book and Hymnal; J. L. NEVE, The Union Movements in the History of Lutheranism; J. A. SINGMASTER, Current Theological Thought.

Methodist Review, New York, January-February: JOHN R. MOTT, Recent Religious Developments in Russia; WILLIAM F. WARREN, The Beauty of God; WILLIAM F. McDOWELL, God's Education of Man; JOHN F. GOUCHER, Unification; JAMES R. DAY, Mistaken Preaching; WILLIAM A. QUAYLE, To Love; ROBERT W. ROGERS, Rudolf E. Brunow, Gentleman and Scholar; L. J. BIRNEY, The Great Expectation—A Question for Undergraduates; WILLIAM L. PHELPS, Browning and Christianity; LYNN H. HOUGH, The Preacher and the Forces of Dem-

ocracy; EVA A. JUDKINS, *The Call to Preach*; GEORGE C. PECK, *The Reach of the Chain. The Same*, March-April: C. G. SHAW, *Religion, Science, and the War*; J. H. WILLEY, *World Democracy and the Christian Sabbath*; BRENTON T. BADLEY, *Characteristic Contributions of the Church in the Orient to the Christian Message*; JAMES MUDGE, *A Philosophical Humorist*; F. H. WRIGHT, *The Vatican and Italy in the War*; H. B. SCHWARTZ, *The Americanism of William Dean Howells*; J. A. BEEBE, *The Christianization of Patriotism*; R. H. GILBERT, *Samuel Johnson-Preacher*; C. M. COBERN, *A Recently Discovered Prayer Book Six Hundred Years Old*; W. D. BRIDGE, *Shorthand and the Ministry*; *Carrying Christmas to the Trenches*; *An American Soldier Girl's Dream*.

Methodist Review Quarterly, Nashville, January: HERBERT W. MAGOUN, *Conservative Thought vs. Critical Theory*; JAMES M. DIXON, *Machiavellism, Methodism, and the Higher Critics*; HENRY T. CARLEY, *Concerning Freedom*; J. TILLERY LEWIS, *World Democracy*; W. P. KING, *The Crisis of Transition*; J. T. WHITLEY, *A Prince in the Realm of Preaching*; J. E. GODBEY, *Prayer and the Law of Spiritual Life*; W. WINANS DRAKE, *An Early Methodist Leader in the South*; DAVID M. AUSMUS, *Primary Aim of Methodism*; LEVI GILBERT, *Religious Spirit of John Masefield*; DANIEL MORTON, *The Community Medical Laboratory and the Church*.

Monist, Chicago, January: HARTLEY B. ALEXANDER, *Plato's Conception of the Cosmos*; G. A. JOHNSTON, *Berkeley's Logic of Mathematics*; HENRY LANZ, *Infinity as Method*; C. L. MARSH, *Imagination, Servant or Master*; C. L. MARSH, *The Super-Soul*; WALTER W. HYDE, *The Two-Hundredth Anniversary of the Birth of Winckelmann*; BERNARD MUSCIO, *Mechanical Explanation of Religion*; DURANT DRAKE, *An Empirical View of the Trinity*; HARRY A. SAYLES, *General Notes on the Construction of Magic Squares and Cubes with Prime Numbers*.

Moslem World, Concord, January: CHARLES E. G. TISDALL, *Singapore as a Centre for Moslem Work*; LIEO KAI LIEN, *The Three Character Classic for Moslems*; *The Influence of a Christian Home*; J. E. THOR, *The Moslem Women of Sianfu*; OLIVER BURGESS, *Accessibility of Moslems in South Shen-si*; W. T. ANDERSON, *Personal Work Among Moslems*; E. I. M. BOYD, *Ricoldus*; *Islam in the Government Schools of Egypt*; *Moslems in Ceylon*; VAN SOMMER, *Fellowship of Faith for Moslems*.

Reformed Church Review, Lancaster, January: THOMAS H. LEINBACH, *Completion of Human Life through Jesus Christ*; BERNARD C. STEINER, *Apex or Base*; J. HAMILTON SMITH, *Sacred Song in Worship*; J. M. HANTZ, *Moral Sense in Theology*; RAY H. DOTTERER, *The Argument for a Finitist Theology*; W. A. KLINE, *The "Kingdom of Heaven" and the "Kingdom of God."*

Review and Expositor, Louisville, January: ALBERT H. NEWMAN, *Four Hundred Years of Lutheranism*; WILLIAM H. ALLISON, *The Reformation as Democracy in Religion*; J. L. HART, *Religious and Moral Conditions in Argentina*; B. R. DOWNER, *Pathos of the Life*

and Ministry of Jeremiah; MARSHALL L. MERTINS, Music, Madness, and the Master; H. FRANCIS PERRY, Supernaturalism Verified in Experience.

Union Seminary Review, Richmond, January: JAMES H. TAYLOR, Organic Union or Federal Union; RUSSELL CECIL, Union of the Presbyterian Churches; ERNEST THOMPSON, Organic Union of the Presbyterian Churches; JAMES I. VANCE, Presbyterian Church Union; J. SPROLE LYONS, Organic Union or Federation; WALTER L. LINGLE, The Unrevised and the Revised Confessions Compared; JOHN N. MILLS, International Service through Missions.

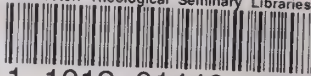
Yale Review, New Haven, January: LEONID ANDRÈEV, To the Russian Soldier; GEORGE L. BEER, America's Place in the World; AGNES REPPLIER, The American Essay in War Time; MOORFIELD STOREY, A Plea for Honesty; WILLIAM A. GANOE, The Expansion of Our Army; BENJAMIN W. BACON, Christ and the Pacifist; CHARLES PERGLER, Should Austria Hungary Exist?; WILBUR C. ABBOTT, Cossack or Republican; ELLSWORTH HUNTINGTON, The Science of Citizenship.

Bilychnis, Rome, Novembre-Dicembre: ARISTARCO FASULO, Pel IV Centenario della Riforma; LIVIO TANFANI, Il fine dell' educazione dell Scuola dei Gesuiti; GIOVANNI PIOLI, Morale e religione nelle opere di Shakespeare; ARTURO FARINELLI, Michelangelo, la Chiesa e la Bibbia; DANTE LATTES, La conquista della Palestina; ENRICO MASINI, Salmo—La liberazione di Gerusalemme; AGOSTINO LANZILLO, Il soldato e l'eroe. *The Same*, Gennaio: MARIO ROSSI, I sofismi sulla guerra e la difesa della nostra latinità; AGOSTINO LANZILLO, Il soldato e l'eroe (con. e fine); M. A. GABELLINI, Morale e religione nella vita e nell' arte di Olindo Guerrini.

Gereformeerd Theologisch Tijdschrift, Nijverdal, December: J. G. UBBINK, Wetenschap en Geloof aan de Vrije Universiteit; S. GREIJ-DANUS, Het wereldbestuur van den Christus en deze wereldoorlog. *The Same*, Januari: G. CH. AALDERS, Het gutuigenis des Nieuwen Testaments in betrekking tot het litterair auteurschap van den Penta-teuch; S. GREIJ-DANUS, Het wereldbestuur van Christus en deze wereldoorlog.

Theologische Studiën, Utrecht, xxxv, 4: F. W. GROSHEIDE, 'ὕψος τοῦ ἀνθρώπου in het Ev. naar Johannes; TH. L. W. VAN RAVESTEYN, God en Mensch in Babel en Bijbel, iii; A. VAN VELDHUIZEN, Kolossen.

Princeton Theological Seminary Libraries



1 1012 01446 0390

For use in Library only

For use in Library only

